



**O.B.C. AND MUSLIMS IN MALAPPURAM DISTRICT
(KERALA): A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

DISSERTATION

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Submitted by:
ABDUSSALAM M.P.

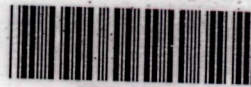
Under the supervision of:
PROF. ABDUL MATIN

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY & SOCIAL WORK
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH-202002 (U.P.) INDIA**

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20 SEP 2012



DS4067

ABDUL MATIN M. A. (Patna), M.Phil. (Delhi), Ph.D. (Toronto)



Department of Sociology & Soc. Work
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh-202002 (U.P.) India
Mobile: 9219173127
E-mail: amatinamu@gmail.com

30th August 2010

Certificate

This is to certify that Mr. Abdussalam. M.P. has worked for his M.Phil. Degree on the topic "O.B.C. and Muslims in Malappuram District (Kerala): A Sociological Analysis" under my supervision. I have guided him by regular checks of data and other necessary materials at every step. The work done by him is original and up to the standard. I recommend this dissertation for submission for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amatin'.

(Prof. Abdul Matin)
Supervisor

Dedicated to my Family Members

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Abdussalam

ABDUSSALAM M.P.

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ABBREVIATIONS

INC	: Indian National Congress
NGOs	: Non-Government Organizations
AES	: Asian Educational Service
APEEM	: Association for Promoting Education and Employment Of Muslim
AMA	: Assessment and Monitoring Authority
AIMMC	: All India Muslim Milli Council
AIMOBCS	: All-India Muslim OBC Sangathan
AIBMM	: All India Backward Muslim Morcha
BSOAS	: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BP	: Below Poverty Line
CDS	: Center For Development Studies
C-D	: Cash Deposit
CMO	: Correspondence of Moplah Outrages
CUP	: Cambridge University Press
CWRDM	: Centre for Water Resources Development and Management
EOC	: Equal Opportunity Commission
EPW	: Economic and Political Weekly
EMI	: Emigrants
HFM	: History of Freedom Movement
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IA	: Indian Antiquary
IAS	: Indian Administrative Service
IC	: Islamic Culture
ICCR	: Indian Council of Cultural Relations
ICSSR	: Indian Council for Social Science Research
ICHR	: Indian Council of Historical Research
ICI	: Islamic Council Of India
IESHR	: Indian Economic and Social History Review
IPS	: Indian Police Service
IRDP	: Integrated Rural Development Programme
IFS	: Indian Foreign Service
JAS	: Journal of Asian Studies
JKS	: Journal of Kerala Studies
JPS	: Journal of Peasant Studies
JRAS	: Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
KCHR	: Kerala Council of Historical Research
KFRI	: Kerala Forest Research Institute
LDF	: Left Democratic Front
MJP	: Madras Judicial Proceedings
MRP	: Madras Revenue Proceedings
NDB	: National Data Bank

NAI	: National Archives of India
NEP	: National Education Policy
OBC	: Other Backward Class
OUP	: Oxford University Press
PP	: Past and Present
Pro.IHC	: Proceedings of Indian History Congress
REM	: Return Emigrants
SS	: Social Scientist
SSLC	: Secondary School Leaving Certificate
SRC	: Socio Religious Communities
SC	: Scheduled Caste
SEBC	: Socio Economic Backward Class
ST	: Scheduled Tribes
TNA	: Tamil Nadu Archives
UGC	: University Grant Commission
USSF	: Under Secretary's Safe Secret File
UDF	: United Democratic Front
UEE	: Universal Elementary Education
Pro.MLC	: Proceedings of Madras Legislative Council
NSS	: Nayar Service Society
NSS	: National Sample Survey
NSSO	: National Sample Survey Organisation
NRK	: Non Resident Keralate
MES	: Muslim Educational Society

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The present study is on OBC Muslims in Malappuram District (Kerala): A Sociological Analysis. It is primarily based on secondary sources. This study mainly attempts towards examining the factors responsible for changing the socio-economic, political and educational conditions of Other Backward Classes (subsequently will be referred as OBC) in general and Muslims of Malappuram and Kerala in particular. The study is divided into five chapters. Each chapter deals with specific topic relating to Muslims in India in general and Kerala in particular. The first chapter begins with Introduction and General Background. After providing brief introduction emergence of Islam in Kerala has been examined. Here every effort has been made to explore the importance of Malabar with special reference to its role in the lucrative trade in Indian Ocean. The role of rulers and Sufis in the spread of Islam is also emphasized. Besides, Muslims' representation in government jobs has also been examined. The second chapter highlights the concepts caste and class among the Muslims. It also evaluates the colonial caste structure in Kerala: its impact and further delaminate practices and colonial salariat class and the Brahminical and Nair's domination in the social, political spheres in Kerala. The decline of Brahminical dominance and the anti-Brahminical movement by the

backward classes by the Muslims, Christians, and Ezhavas have been examined. The third chapter examines in detail the Muslim communities and their varied identities; meaning and emergence of the other backward classes in India. The social structure of Other Backward Classes, relevance of reservation for OBCs, rationale for the OBC reservation and backwardness and empowerment of this group has also been discussed. A detailed analysis on various aspects of Other Backward Commissions / Committees at all India level and in Kerala has also been described. The fourth chapter discusses the different activities performed by the Kerala Muslims and their social, economic, and educational dimensions for their livelihood. The other economic sources like gulf migration, Land holdings, Employment and unemployment and the basic amenities like Health, Bank Credit, Municipal services, and Infrastructure and communication facilities availed by the Muslim concentrated district in Kerala have also been examined. The main findings have been provided in the concluding chapter. It shows the main reasons behind Social, Economic and Political reasons behind almost all the Kerala Muslims coming under the category of OBC. Finally, few suggestions for the speedy and successful implementation of the reservation policy for socially, economically and educationally backward classes of India have been provided.

1.2 METHODS AND SOURCES OF DATA

The study adopts a combination of historical and analytical methods. The proposed study is mainly based on secondary and tertiary data. Census and government reports have been consulted for the purpose of the present study. Secondary materials such as books and articles related to the topic published in the recent past have been

consulted and interpreted for the present study. In addition, the reports of various commissions appointed by the central and state governments have also been examined and compared.

The present study is mainly based on the resources available in the Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh; History Department Seminar Library, AMU, Aligarh; Ratan Tata Library, Delhi School of Economics, Delhi; Institute of Economic Growth Library, University of Delhi, Delhi; Nehru Memorial and Museum Library, New Delhi; Indian Institute of Public Administration Library, New Delhi; and JNU library, New Delhi; C.H Muhammad Koya Library, Calicut University Campus, Calicut; Abu Sabah library, Farooq College, Calicut; Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum; Public Library, Legislative Assembly Library and Kerala Council for Historical Research, Trivandrum, Kerala.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To understand the socio-Economic and Educational conditions of Muslims of Kerala with specific reference to Malappuram.
2. How the Muslims of Malappuram are different from other parts of the Country (Kerala).
3. What are the main reasons behind the backwardness of Muslims in Malappuram (Kerala)?
4. Why all the Muslims of Malappuram are considered as OBCs (Kerala)?
5. How they are different from other OBCs within Kerala and also at the national level.

6. To understand social stratification and status groups among the Muslims of Malappuram (Kerala).
7. As Other Backward Community their achievements in different walks of life.

1.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MUSLIMS IN KERALA

Through long centuries of history Malabar which name in ancient days referred to the present Kerala was variously known as described by historians and travelers as Malibar, Manibar, Mulibar and Munibar. For the people of the region it is, to quote Dr. M.G.S Narayanan," the source of a very special sentiment and as such alive factor in shaping their way of life. The stamp of the Malabar culture is clearly visible in the community life, especially in the traditional groups of Nayars, Nambudiries, Mappilas, Thiyyas, and Christians of the area in towns and villages.

A quick look at the historical background of Kerala would reveal that the Malabar region on the one hand and Travancore and Cochin region on the other had different socio-historical backgrounds leading to their present social, educational and economic status. Soon after the treaty of Seringapatan in 1792, Malabar with all its chieftains and houses passed into a colonial system. The case of Travancore and Cochin are was different. As a result of treaties with the English East India Company, the princely states of Travancore and Cochin had retained their separate entities. The present Kerala state was formed in 1956, Following the recommendations of state Re-organization commission by the union of the major part of the Travancore-Cochin state and the Malabar and Kasargod areas because of these historical twists and variables the different regions of the state were destined to receive different kinds of treatment from their

administrators in the past, naturally the social and economic results are reflected in their present situation.

There is no unanimity of opinion among scholars and historians about the genesis of Islam in Kerala. While some scholars would attribute it to the very life time of the prophet (S.A.W.) and third group would relate it to the eighth century, ninth century A.D. respectively. The first view is based on the account in Keralolpathi about the well-known tradition of the conversion of Cheraman Perumal, the last king of Chera Empire. This tradition holds that after the partition of the kingdom, the king secretly traveled by ship to Arabia and landed at 'Shahr' from where he went to Jeddah and visited the Prophet (SA), then in his 57th year, and that he embraced Islam and accepted the name Tajuddin. It is further reported that he married the sister of the Arabian King Habibuddin and stayed there for five years. Later during his journey to Kerala along with his wife and father in law, he died on the way at 'shuhr'. That the popular Muslim belief Cheraman perumal was a Shaba is supported by Kerala scholar C.N Ahammed Moulavi and Abdul Kareem in their 'Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya paramparyam', although no reliable historical evidence has been cited to support this. The second tradition that the conversion of Perumal took place in the eighth century A.D. is based on indiscretion on a Muslim Tombstone at Pantalayani, (Kollam). The presence of Muslim groups in Kerala in the ninth century is supported by Tarisappalli copper plates (849 A.D).

Shaykh Zaynuddin (R.A), writing in the eighties of the sixth century on the first appearance of Islam in Kerala has stated; 'As for the exact date there is no certain

information with us, most probably it must have been two hundred years after the Hijrah (622.A.D).Referring to this issue, Logan has made the following observation.

“The Malayalee Arabs assert, chief on Shaykh Zaynuddin authority, that Islam not introduced into Malabar until 200 years after Hijrah- and this or a later date, seems to be correct for the Arab merchant, Sulaiman, who wrote in A.H.237(A.D851-52),who wrote with knowledge as he had evidently visited the countries he wrote about, said expressly ‘I know not that there is any one of either nation (Chinese or India) that has embraced Muhammedanism or speak Arabic’”.

Some historians have, however held the view that “Sulaiman's testimony is hardly trust worthy on his point for he fails to notice the Arab possession in Sind, in Gujarat, or the Gulf of Cambay”. Dr. M.G.S Narayanan has pointed out.” There is no reason to reject the tradition that the last Chera king embraced Islam, (His name was Rama) and went to Makka since it finds a place not only in Muslim chronicles, but also in Hindu Brahminical chronicles, like keralolpathi, where no one would expect these chronicles to concoct such a tale, and which in no way enhances the prestige or the interest of the Hindu or Brahmin population.”

Keralolpathi written by Herman Gundert speaks of two Chera kings who went to Makka One Banaperumal after embracing Buddha shastra (the religion of Buddha) went to Makka. At the same time Gundert claims that Banaperumal had converted to Christianity or Buddhism, the doubt, exists that why he had gone to Makka. If the king had gone to Makka it can be assumed that he had embraced Islam. The second perumal who had gone to Makka as mentioned in keralolpathi is Cheraman perumal. The year of

his departure mentioned in the work as 332 A.D., cannot be correct, since the preaching of Islam by Prophet Muhammad (SAW) started only after 600.A.D. Another version says that Cheraman perumal left for Makka in 210 A.H. (825 A.D.)

After analyzing the variance in the chronology and the departure of two perumal to Makka as mentioned in the Keralolpathi some incline to think of the possibility of the conversion of two perumals-Shankara Varma during the life time of the prophet (SAW) and Rama Varma Kulashckara in later period both of them might have died in south Arabia, but the later paved the way for the missionary activities under Malik- Ibnu-Dinar Dr.M.G.S Narayanan suggests that, the conversion of the Chera king might have taken place not during the prophets time but in 1122A.D.However according him this doesn't mean that Malabar there were no Muslims before this date but it was the conversion of Cheraman perumal that accelerated the growth of Islam in Malabar.

It was as directed by Cheraman perumal the first group of missionary landed at Kodungallur and started their preaching. Though all the sources speak on the mission of Malik b. Dinar (RA) and his party, there also exists the chronological differences as in the conversion of the perumal. Since there are more persons bearing the name Malik- Ibnu-Dinar in the early centuries of Islam confusion arises who among them came to Malabar. As indicated by the name Malik- Ibnu- Dinar indicates that he is of Iranian origin rather than a genuine Arab. Most of the sources say that Malik b. Dinar, after his mission at Malabar had gone to Khurasan where he had died (NM). So there is very possibility to believe that Malik- Ibnu- Dinar who led the missionary to Malabar might be the disciple of the famous Sufi Hassan Basra who died at Khurasan around 744 A.D.

The statement in Rihalat Al-Mulk, that Cheraman perumal with whose instruction Malik b. Dinar and his party came to Malabar set off sail to Arabia in 82.A.H. (701 A.D.) also comes near to the fact. This period of Kerala history was that of political turmoil and uncertainty and, as observed by Sreedhara Menon, the period also characterized by great religious and intellectual activity. Hence the possibility of the conversion of one Perumal becomes more evident during this period. In this connection it may be noted that there is the widely held tradition that Kaladi were Shankara was born belonged to a small princely whose king had accepted Islam.

It is also said that Malik- Ibnu- Dinar and his party was responsible for constructing the first Mosque in Malabar. If we believe the words Keralolpathi tradition that before leaving for Makka, Cheraman perumal entrusted the duty to protect and look after the Jonakas (Mappilas) including the quazi to punturkon (the zammorian), It means that there were Muslims and Quazi in Malabar before the departure of Cheraman perumal and then a mosque becomes inevitable for the quazi to maintain the Islamic laws .If it is so, the credit of constructing the first mosque would not come to Malik- Ibnu- Dinar and his party who come years after the departure of the perumal. If Malik- Ibnu Dinars visits in the eighth century the construction of many mosques including that of Cheraman mosque at Kodungallur (cranganore) cannot be attributed to him. And also we didn't find the mosques at Calicut and Kodungallur in the list of mosques constructed by Malik b. Dinar recorded in Rihalat- al- Mulk.

Logon is right when he says that Malik b. Dinar and his party, even with the exceptional advantages they possessed, would hardly have been able in so short time, to

establish mosques at various places unless the ground had been prepared earlier for them to some extent, at least.

The traditions say that Malik b. Dinar and his party had with them letters from the perumal to different native rulers seeking their assistance to the missionary activities and construction of the mosques. Thus the ruler of Kodungallur, where the Muslim missionary is said to have landed first, vacated a Buddhist vihar to Muslims and this came to be known as Cheraman Palli. At the time when Muslim missionaries started their work Buddhism had lost its importance and this may be the reason for changing the vihar into a mosque. Thus according to the traditions Cheraman Palli became the first mosque in Malabar. Likewise the mosque at Madayi was constructed at about the same with the assistance of the Kolathiri Raja to whom also there was a letter from the last perumal.

It was Kolathiri raja who constructed the mosque at Valapattanam (Balipattam) and accorded all facilities for proselytizing activities to Sayyid Aboobakr who was the first quazi of the place. C.A. Innes had quoted a story from the travelogue of Ibnu-Battuta, about the conversion of a king of dadkana (Blapattam) when Ibnu Battuta visited here the ruler was an infidel "Whose grand father, who had become Muhammeden, built the mosque and made the pond. The cause of grandfathers receiving Islamism was a tree over which he had built the mosque."

The controversy over the date of conversion of the Chera king the coming of Malik Ibnu- Dinar and his party and the construction of mosques are still a matter of controversy among the historians on Kerala history. The traditions prevalent among the people are yet to be proved with scientific facts how ever the fact remains that the spread

of Islam in Kerala was true to the letter and spirit of Sufi style of peace with all (sulh I kul) and there was no Muslim ruler to impose the religion in the region. The conversion of the king to Islam was a result of the peaceful co-existence and a matter of expediency for the prospect of the state and it never amounted to an authority of one religion over the other. It was the presence of the Sufi mystics and the conversion of the native rulers, alongside with the social systems prevailing in the region that had accelerated the growth of Islam on the coast of Malabar.

In spite of the different opinion regarding the actual date of advent of Islam in Kerala, it is fairly certain now that Muslims had become a distinct community in Kerala by 9th century A.D. As Logan states “for first of all it is beyond doubt that Arabs had by the ninth century A.D. penetrated beyond India and as far as China for purposes of trade and it is notable that all the nine places where mosques were erected were either the headquarters of the petty potentates of the country or places affording facilities for trade and in some cases (as Kodungallur, Kottayam, Pazhayangadi and perhaps Pantalayani Kollam). The places had the double advantage of being both well situated for trade and close proximity the chieftains of strong holds Arabs engaged in trade had no doubt settled in these places long previously.....Malik-Ibnu-Dinar and his party, even with exceptional advantages they possessed, would hardly have been able in so short a time to found and establish mosque at these places, unless the ground had been prepared before hand for them to some extent at least. And the fact that Arabs had settled for trading purposes carries with it the further possible assumption that some of them at least had contracted alliances with women of the country, and the beginning of a mixed race, the Mappilas had been laid”.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME “MAPPILAS”

The name “*Mappila*” is a translation of the Malayalam. The translation has taken several different forms, the most common being Mappila, Mappilla, Moplah. The origin of the term is not settled, but it appears to have been basically a little of respect. In the partial form, *Pilla* (child), it is frequently found among Nayars. It was a common honorific for Christians in middle Kerala, and this usage continues to some extent to the present. At an earlier period Muslim and Christian Mappilas were differentiated as “*jonaka*” and “*Nasrani*” Mappilas respectively, but in the recent times the term has tended more and more to be used as an exclusive name for the Kerala Muslim.

In support of the view that the name “Mappila” is an honorific it is argued that such a term would very naturally have been applied by the natives of Kerala to respect and welcome visitors and immigrants from abroad. According to this interpretation the word may be derived from two Malayalam terms, *Maha* (great) and *Pilla* (child). The foreigners are great ones, noble ones, gladly received and held in highest respect by the indigenous inhabitants.

A second form of this interpretation places more stress on the literal implication of child. In this sense it is taken to mean either bride groom or son-in-law. This meaning corresponds to the contemporary Tamil use of the term to signify husband, bride groom, or husband-to be to this day the newly-married Muslims in Kerala is called “New Mappila” in Malayalam. It is significant that in north Malabar the husbands of all the younger women of a Tarawad house in which they live are considered “bride grooms”, and they continue to be treated as such for a considerable time. “That usage reflects the

common role of younger husbands as honored guests and partial outsiders". The implication of this derivation is that the term "Mappila" was applied as a descriptive honorific to foreigners who married into indigenous families.

Another interpretation that receives support derives "Mappila" from the first syllable of the term *Matawii*", which means "mother", combined with "*Pilla*," (child). The meaning of the term, there, is "mothers-child". As such it designates the offspring of foreign husband and indigeneous wives. Both to emphasize that indigeneous relationship and to correspond with usage appropriate to the matriarchal system current among the Nayers it would not be unnatural to apply this designation.

Various Arabic derivations have been proposed, one suggesting that the origin is from *Mahfil* (gathering place or meeting place). It is surmised that Mappilas used this term for their community gatherings, and Kerala natives there for assigned the name to them personally. Another interpretation proposes a corruption of either Mufllih or Mahfilh from falah to till". The noun form,"agriculturalist" by derivation implies "the prosperous one, a term which might have been applied to Muslims. At their interpretation calls for another corruption, this time from the noun form Muabber of the verb *Abara* (one form over the water). Mabar or Mubar was the early name applied by foreigners to the Tamilnad area. These derivations do not meet the objection that the term has been applied to non-Muslim communities. Other interpretations do not merit serious consideration.

The precise development of the term "Mappila" as applied to the Muslim community in Kerala is likely to remain obscure. We may, however, propose taking as

our starting point the still current meaning of 'new husband', which usage itself was in all probability based on the horrific, Mahapilla. This term, used indigenously, was naturally attached without prejudice to bridegrooms from the honored visitors or immigrants from abroad. Though not in Tamil, at some point in Malayalam usage the term began to be reserved especially for such unions and those born of them. The reason for the attraction of the term to non-Hindu communities must have been the practical and growing necessity in Kerala to develop a word to describe such marriages and communities in a way that was both exclusive and respectful.

1.6 SPREAD OF ISLAM IN KERALA

The spread of Islam was unbelievably fast and wide in Kerala. Several factors are attributed to this, when Arab traders and missionaries settled here, the local rulers were extremely helpful and hospitable to them. The missionary work was quite peaceful and cordial and members of the Hindu community maintained a very cordial and friendly relationship with Muslims. There was no ban for willing members to embrace the new religion. The Zamorin of Calicut even encouraged such conversion with a view to strengthening the trade with Arabs. It is reported that he gave orders that in every family of fishermen (Mukkuvan) in his domain, one or more of the male members should be brought up as Mohammadans.

The works of missionaries and Sufis greatly helped the spread of the new religion. However recorded information on their work during the early period is scanty in contrast to detailed accounts of such activity in other parts of the country. It is pointed out that the available Arabic works being mainly theology have completely ignored the ideologies

and activities of the Sufis and missionaries and that our main source of information on the work of Sufi saints is the Malas (Tadkiras) sung extensively extolling their activities, especially their Karamaths (super natural activities).

The tradition of Malik Ibnu-Dinar and his associate is very well known in the history of missionary activities in Kerala. According to this tradition, Cheraman Perumal, on his return trip from Arabia, was accompanied by the family and friends of Malik Ibnu Dinar. Before the king died at zifar on the Arabian coast he had instructed his friends to proceed to Kerala and spread the new faith. According, Malik Ibnu- Dinar and his friends landed at Kodungallur, visited the different parts of Kerala and established ten cathedral mosques at Kulam (Quilon) Kodungallur, Shaliyat (Chaliyam) fandarina (Pantalayani), Darmafattaan (Darmadam) Jurfattan (Srikantapuram) Hajili Marwi (Madayi), Karyarkut (Kasarkode), Manjalur (Mangalore) and Fakanur (Barkur). The works of these missionaries like Makdums of Ponnani, the Mamburam Tangals, and The Kondotti Tangals was also instrumental in a big way in the spreading of Islam in Kerala.

The universal brother hood of man preached and practiced by Islam was an universal experience to the vast mass of the low and down-trodden communities in Kerala such as Cherumas, Pulayas, Parihas, Mukkuvan etc. Who found great solace and relief in accepting Islam. Logan states “The conversion of a pariah or low caste Hindu to Muha-mmedaranism rises him distinctly in the social status, and he is treated with more respect by Hindus”. He is no longer the degraded pariah whose approach disgusted, and whose touch polluted the Hindu of Caste, But belonging now to a different scale of being,

contact with him does not require the same ablutions to purify it.(special commissioner Grames report, paragraph 21).

Thus conversion gave to low castes a new status and a prospect of new life based on equality. This factor too attracted the low caste who had been suffering for long under the yoke of tyranny of the upper classes, to Islam in great numbers. The moment they got convert, they were able to forget their stigmata and acquire 'A vitalizing social status almost tantamount to equality with others. It can thus be seen that the main factors behind the fast and unparalleled spread of Islam in Kerala in the early days were different-such as the patronage and hospitality the Arab traders and missionaries received at the hand of the native princes, the backwardness and social disabilities of the downtrodden tribes and the spiritual enlightenment of the early Muslim saints and missionaries among the Arabs settlers.

1.7 FROM EARLY DAYS TO THE MODERN PERIOD

Miller records that specific factors involved in the growth of Muslim community up to the time of European encroachment included immigration, Intermarriage, missionary activities, the support of the Zamorian and personal advantage. Kerala, it will be recalled had been from early times a caste ridden society. The traditional Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra had their counterparts here. Nambudiries and Kshatriyas were few in number but occupied top positions in the hierarchy. They controlled majority of the social, political, and economic activities of the lower caste of the society. There were no Visayas here. The reason might be that their functions were carried out by

Muslims and Christians. The Nair's of the state corresponded to Shudras. In Cochin, the Christians and in Malabar the Mappilas held high positions.

Islam spread in Kerala maintaining its own culture and style at same time retaining some of the old characteristics of its members before conversion. The converts were naturally influenced by the age old habits of the people around. Depending on the places of settlement, the habitats and culture of local people influenced the new converts as is visible from the lives of the people in rural areas and the coastal belt. The settlers of the coastal and urban areas such as Kannur, Kozhikode and Ponnani, were mainly trade people." They evolved a policy of give and take to promote their business despite the religious differences, cherishing a somewhat secular outlook in life. They were the loyalists of the Zamorin, the local prince. They fought violently against their common foreigners' foes, the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British who were locked in fierce struggle to gain supremacy over the Arabs on sea trade from 15th to 18th centuries." Following the practice among certain higher caste Hindus, urban Muslims adopted "the matrilineal system which was totally unknown to Muslim societies in the Middle East. His Muslims of Travancore and Cochin under the rule of native princes enjoy greater freedom and this enabled them to be in better position in the field of education compared to their counterparts in Malabar.

Unlike the Muslims of north India Muslims of Kerala were never rulers except in a petty kingdom ruled by Arakkal family for a period of 7 centuries. However this did not make a notable impression on the Kerala Muslims as a whole from a socio-cultural angle.

1.8 PORTUGUESE ARRIVAL AND AFTER

The arrival of the Portuguese on the scene in 1498 A.D. changed the whole situation and this threw up a challenge not only to the commercial and trade interests of the Muslims but also to their religious and cultural interests. Zamorin in a bid to reserve the trade interests in his domain on the one hand and on the other to retain his cordial and friendly relationship with Muslims who stood with him and fought for him in all situations even went to the extent of decreeing that all those born on Friday on the coastal areas would be of Islamic faith. Muslims maintaining their bondage and friendship with the Zamorin fought battles on the land and the sea providing their allegiance to the king to very least. In spite of the pressure exerted by the Portuguese to give up special consideration for the Arabs and local Muslims, the Zamorin refused to change his attitude and continued to be friendly and helpful to the Muslims.

The Muslim settlers in Kerala, it is well known, came from different strata of society. Naturally the influence of the customs used for centuries together could not be shaken off all of a sudden. Tuhfat-ul mujahideen tells us how as a result of the missionary work of the Malik Ibnu Dinar and his comrades, people in coastal areas began to embrace Islam in small groups swelling the ranks of Islam. Kozhikode, Veliankode, Tirurangadi, Thanur, Ponnani, Parappanagadi, Paravanna, Chaliyam, Kakkad Thikodi, Edakkad, Kannur, Tirurangadi, Mahe were places which became busy centers as a result of the new religious activity. Even though the rulers and administrators were Hindus, they just were fair in their dealings with the Muslims. Zaynuddin (RA) gives a detailed account of the type of special treatment Muslims received at the hands of the Zamorin. If any Hindu

wanted to embrace Islam no one would stand in the way nor would any one create any difficulty in his daily life. Once a Hindu embraced Islam, such a person used to be given all respect even if he belongs to any of the backward class prior to his conversion.

The routine situation on the scene changed on the arrival of the Portuguese who considered Muslims as their enemies on the commercial as well as religious front. When the efforts cause estrangement between the Zamorian and Muslims failed, the Portuguese resorted to extremely cruel, inhuman and dastardly attacks on Muslims on the sea as well as on land, which lasted for one hundred years or more. The valiant fights put up by Zamorian men ably assisted by the famous Admirals, Kunhali Marakkars are shining examples of naval warfare. But for this heroic and long-drawn naval battles, the western seashore of India could not have been protected from the Portuguese colonial domination.

1.9 THE IMPACT OF THE INTRUSIONS

The Portuguese intrusions on the Malabar Coast starting from 1498 and stretching over a period of nearly one hundred years had a decisive and long-lasting effect on the affairs of the Mappila Muslims of Kerala. Historians are generally agreed that till the advent of the Portuguese, Mappilas led a peaceful life on the coast in harmony with the sister communities and occupying a leading role in the trade and commerce of the land both within and outside Kerala. The situation changed almost abruptly on the arrival of the Portuguese with definite trading interests with the intention of breaking the commercial monopoly of Muslims, in internal trade. When their initial efforts to enlist the assistance of the Zamorian to effect an estrangement between the Muslims and the

ruling kingdom failed; the Portuguese to all sorts of intrigues, conspiracies, and open attacks on Muslims and the powers that supported them. They also resorted to signing political treaties of convenience with the kings who were anemically to the Zammorian. The innumerable attacks on Muslims and their establishments, stretching over a period of nearly one hundred years, descriptions of which abound in Tuhfath- al- Mujahidin and later historical accounts, completely wrecked the Muslim trade and dislocated the normal cultural life of the community destroying their prospects for years to come.

“The result of the Portuguese period for Mappilas may be summarized as economic retrogression, estrangement from Hindus, bitterness against Christians and new militancy. Each of these was passed forward in some measure into modern times, shaping both Mappilas history and present attitudes of the community. The economic regression had a severe effect up on the Mappilas and produced a radical change in their situation.”

Regarding the historical and economic implications of Portuguese intrusion on Mappilas, noted all historians and social scientists hold the same view. While most of the social activists who participated in the survey conducted by Prof. U. Muhammad in his study on “Educational empowerment of Kerala Muslims: A Socio-Historical perspective, thought that the impact of the colonial intrusion was one of the chief causes of backwardness among Kerala Muslims who stood on a different footing from their counterparts in other religions.

Dr.M Gangadharan held of different view in this regard. “Though the Portuguese were ruthless against Muslim traders in the Kerala coast in the early 16th century, they did

not succeed in crippling the oceanic trade of the Muslims. There is some evidence even to show that the native Muslims (Mappilas) benefited when rich foreign (Arabs) merchants left the Kerala coast by the end of the 2nd decade of the 16th century due to the violent attacks by the Portuguese. Till then Mappilas had to suffer the hegemony of the foreign Muslims.”

Modern researchers have pointed out that Mappila merchants remind in the trade of the coast fighting against the Portuguese in the 16th and early 17th centuries. It not appears that the Mappila trade flourished on the coast even in the 17th century competing with the Dutch traders. The Mappilas of the coast suffered heavily only in the second half of the century when Tippu Sulthan nationalized oceanic trade in northern Kerala and established monopoly of the Mysore government in the trade of the coast. When the English East India Company succeeded Tippu Sulthan to political power in north Kerala in the least decade of the 18th century, the impoverished Mappila traders of the coast were reinstated in trade as agents (middlemen) in spice trade. This, it may be presumed, made the coastal Mappilas of British Malabar loyal to the British rulers till the end of the foreign regime. It may be remembered that the Muslim league started functioning in Kerala in the 30s of the 20th century with the support of the pro-British, relatively rich, coastal Mappilas.’

While interpretation of events and consequences spread over several centuries may differ among the historians, there is no denying the fact that the vicious cycle of events following the Portuguese intrusion had a telling and damaging impact on the social, psychological and economic life of the Kerala Muslims even several centuries

after the Portuguese intruders had left the Kerala coast. As Hamid Ali observed, “The discovery of the cape of good hope.....was an evil day for the Mappilas.....in the keen struggle for the supremacy on the Eastern seas the Moplas came out vanquished.....and never since have they regained their wealth and their glory. Even though the post-Portuguese Europeans were less brutal than their predecessors, “the net effect on the Mappilas was the same. The modest improvements in trade, agriculture, and small industry and the widening of horizons produced by the new contacts did not materially help the Muslims, whose position continued to deteriorate. Islam in Kerala, it is said, had never been in grater distress since its advent.

By 17th century A.D. however, the Portuguese power waned and in their place Dutch, the French and the British began to establish their power-pockets in different parts of Kerala. Even though, the new colonial powers came in place of the old one, this did not bring about significant changes in the lot of Muslims. With the surrender of the last Kunhali Marakkar by the Zammorian to the Portuguese, their relationship with the local Muslims was never the same. The bad days of Muslims had begun socially and economically, they no longer enjoyed the position they once held before the arrival of the Portuguese on the scene.

The Mysorean interlude (1776-1792) for a while revived the hopes of local Muslims to improve their conditions. With this hope they supported the Mysore sultans and received favors of enrolment in their forces and in the administration. At a different level, the new situation gave an opportunity to the people of low caste who were suffering for long under the oppression of their masters to convert to Islam which brought

in its wake many favors. In the interior places this was most pronounced. The new converts, it is said, must have used their newly won freedom by turning against their old oppressors.

During this period large numbers of Brahmins and Nair's ran away from their abodes, for whatever they could fetch. The Hindu Janmis thus fleeing from the scene, the immediate beneficiaries were Mappila cultivators. This naturally attracted them range themselves behind the Mysore administration.

With the British occupation of Malabar in 1792, the situation changed again. The Muslim cultivators were taxed more heavily than before with the result that they were not able to pay the areas. There was general discontentment and resistance. The administration had even to seek the assistance of the army to quell riots and ensure collection of revenue. The system had broken down and by 1800 it is recorded that the East India Company had taken over the control of the entire administration of Malabar.

As Tippus forces retreated, the lot of the Mappilas peasants becomes more difficult and unsafe. There was frequent confrontation with the Britishers on the one hand and repressive measures at the hands of Hindu Janmis on the other. The land laws were against the interests of the tenants enabling the Janmis to evict the tenant or transfer land from one to another. It is said that a situation arose in the field of agriculture (which was almost similar to that a situation arose in the field of agriculture) which was almost similar to that which existed in the field of trade when the Portuguese came to the Malabar Coast. The discontent element of Mappilas resulted in a series of violent outbreaks spread throughout the 19th century. Government turning a deaf ear to the constant

complaints of the Mappila tenants, the outbreaks persisted. The agrarian tension steadily increased which finally triggered of the rebellion of 1921.

The rebellion of 1921 was a great tragedy and a turning point in the history of Malabar Muslims. The Britishers who had looked up on Mappilas as 'uncivilized brutes', used this event to unleash very severe a harsh measures on them. Many were executed, many sentenced life imprisonment and thousands jailed. According to the account summarized by Dr.Miller from different sources: "The physical effects of the rebellion were extensive. The total Mappila casualties are unknown, although Mappilas themselves speak up to 10,000 lives lost. An official British source estimates a death toll of 1000 out of an active 10000 participants. But another report indicates that by January,1922,2266 Mappilas had already been killed.....A total of 252 Mappilas were executed by court martial, while 502 others were sentenced to life imprisonment: other thousands were given jail sentence, usually 7-14 years duration, by special magistrates appointed to judge lesser charges. Prisons in the area were so congested that a special camp was reactivated in Bellary, where 4500 Mappilas were jammed into facilities intended for 1500.Many Mappilas were eventually expatriated to the Andaman Islands for imprisonment there. The rebellion proved to be a turning point in the history of Kerala Muslims for many decades to come as it sealed their fate and completed their decline. "The community at this juncture presented the picture of socially, economically, educationally, culturally and psychologically wrecked society with no hope of any revival in the rear future.

The deep hurt towards the British rulers who wanted to annihilate the Muslim culture, created a deep-rooted aversion in the Muslim minds against any thing western including the English language, western culture and western science. The roots of Muslim antagonism to western education can be traced to this point in history. Looking back it can be seen that this attitude had placed the community in a precarious situation. As observed by Miller "It had blocked their progress, retarded the development of the community economically and created a public image and private mentality of backwardness."

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: CASTE, COLONY AND CLASS

“Caste” has been widely used to describe ranked groups within rigid system of social stratification and especially those which constitute the society of Hindu India. Among social scientists, and especially among those who have worked in India, there are basically two views: (1) that the caste system is to be defined in terms of structural features which are found not only in Hindu India but in a number of other societies as well. Those who hold the latter view find caste groups in Arabian Peninsula, Polynesia, North Africa, East Africa, Guatemala, Japan, aboriginal North America, and the contemporary United States.

Units of every different scale have been denoted by the word “Caste” as well as by vernacular terms, of which Jute is the most common. Such units include references categories extending thought India: hereditary occupational units (such as barbers, tanners), and the endogamous units within the occupational units. The caste system of India is unique in the religious ritual which explains it, in its complexity, and the degree to which the constituent caste can also be defined in terms which give the concept of cross-cultural applicability.

A. L. Kroeber (1930:254) has defined caste as “an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions.”

A caste system, be said to occur when a society is composed of birth ascribed, hierarchically ordered, and culturally distinct groups (Castes). The hierarchy entails differential evaluation, differential rewards, and differential association. The earliest written mention of division in Indian society refers to the distinction between the autochthonous Dasa and the immigrant Arya populations. Later texts specify a three fold and then to four fold division of society into Brahman (priestly), Rajanya or Kshatriyas (warrior-ruler), Vaishya (merchant), and Shudras (servant) Varna, with the population outside this scheme being subsequently categorized as untouchable. The Varna formed hierarchy marked by differing material and spiritual privileges number of theories about caste devote themselves to explaining its origin. these include the hypothesis that the system was created by the Brahmans for their own benefit (Shirring 1974:231) The Classical view has been described by Manu (Mayer 1968:341) that castes have evolved from unions between members of different Varna. It has also been suggested that caste were formed on "a community of function" through common occupation in a division of labors (Nesfield, 1885:88) An alternative theory claims that the underlying principle was a physical antipathy of Arya for Dasa, resulting in an endogamy that produced measurable physical distinctions, so that one could almost say for least certain regions of India that "a mans social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose" (Risley 1891:xxxiv). Hocart (1950:68) suggest that the functions and concomitant purity of participants in count rituals become hereditary, and when this organization later separated to meet the ritual requirements of rest of the population a ritual ranked hierarchy was created. Others maintain that the system arose from Aryan institutions that were adopted to the conditions found in India (Senart 1930:213. Hutton (1964:164) is even less

ambitious, giving only a list of 15 factors whose concentration contributed to the emergence of the caste system. Weber (1921:130-131) suggests that the institution could have been produced only by the convergence of several major factors.

Dumont (1970) considers inequality based on the caste system as a special type of inequality. Ideas and values' are considered by Dumont as the basis for knowing actual and observable behavior of the people. For Dumont therefore, the idea of pure and the impure is the basis for understanding the caste system. This idea is the basis for hierarchy in Hindu society. Dumont's main concern is with the traditional social organization of India from the point of view of values and ideas. He constructs an ideal type of the caste system based on ethnographic and ideological research materials. Madan (1971:1806-1808) upholds Dumont's view that hierarchy is a 'universal necessity'. Caste is a very complex system precisely because caste is not simply a ritualistic system of power relations and economic activities. If it gets weakened in one aspect, it also gets strengthened in other aspects with certain alterations, additions and assertions.

According to K.L. Sharma, there is no uniform pattern of caste structure in actual terms throughout India (1986:18-19) the same can be said about class structure. Both caste and class bear ideological contents and are conceptual elements. Both have substantive elements as existential and mundane chimes of relations. There are thousands of castes in India with different names and nomenclatures, but there are only about five or six classes throughout the country. These apparent bases of social division in Indian society are not realistically very different from each other. There are numerous 'middle classes' which are not directly related to 'production process' they are an offshoot of the modern

Indian state apparatus. One obvious inference is that there is a caste basis of class and class basis of caste. There is a class basis of rituals, pollution purity, and other apparently non-material aspects of social life. At Sabha is not a simple caste association; in effect, it is a peasant's organization. Kisan Sabha is not a simple peasant's organization, it is very much an association of castes engaged in agriculture, particularly Jats in northern India and their counterparts in other states.

Structural aspect of caste system is explained by accepting it as a general principle of stratification (Barth, 1960: 113-46), (Berreman, 1957: 45-73). Caste as a cultural system is understood in terms of prominence of ideas of pollution-purity and notions of hierarchy segregation and corporations (Dumont, 1970), (Leach, 1960: 1-10). Caste is also viewed as a closed system of stratification (Bailey, 1963: 107-124). Where as Beteille (1966: 224-46) considers caste as a 'closed' as well as 'open' systems. He finds that caste is becoming increasingly 'segmental' because of the emergence of 'differentiated structures in India. Caste is not really a very flexible system, yet it permits mobility in certain areas to its members. A given caste is guided by norms of the caste system, have inter caste dependence; but a given caste has also its autonomy in regard to observance of its practices, rituals and protection of its rights in relation to other castes. In fact, caste has adopted itself as it confronted innumerable varied situation, forces and constraints. Caste has evolved simultaneously in several directions and adjusted with ideologically antagonistic systems. It has not allowed the emergence of an alternative system of stratification and social relations though it has undergone significant changes from time to time (Sharma, 1977: vii). There is no point therefore, in enumerating features and functions of the caste system with their descriptions as done by Risley

(1969: 47), Ketkar (1909: 15), Senart (1930: 35), Hutton (1964), Furnivall (1939), Sherring (1974: 214), Ghurye (1950: 18). Caste has been ecologized as a positive and functional system in the writings of the British ethnographers and some Indian scholars. Srinivas (1979: 237-42) notes that even today agricultural production requires cooperation of several castes. The use of caste idiom is quite widespread. Even Karl Marx (1951; 1965) related to the Asiatic mode of production to the stability of the caste system in India. Similarly H.J.Smaine (1890) has considered caste as an illustration of non-contractual 'status-society'. Dumont (1970) and Bougle (1971) have considered caste as an ideological system of unique nature. Such a view was earlier held by Hocart (1950). Max Weber (1970) too has considered caste as a system of status stratification. All of them have explained caste as basically a cultural system implying that significant structural changes have not occurred in Indian society due to its stable character and cultural ethos.

Srinivas concept of 'dominant Caste' (1959b) and his collection of essays on caste (1962), K.S.Mathur's book on caste ritual (1964), Mariots studies on caste (1959, 1965, 1968a, 1968b) and Kotharis works on the role of the caste system in Indian politics (1970a, 1970b) are some of the notable examples of 'caste view' model. Emphasis in these studies has been singularly on the hegemony or over-determination of caste, cultural normative criteria rather than economic and political one. However, in late sixties and seventies "multiple criteria" (Hazalehurst, 1968:38-57), "levels of caste dominance" (Dube, 1968:83-97) have been discussed with a conscious intent to counter the falsity of the futurological concepts like dominant caste, pollution purity, sanskritization and westernization. D'souza (1967: 192-211) draws a simple and

mechanical distinction between caste and class. He is obviously guided by the American notion of class., class for D'souza is a result of what he calls objective rating of position based on certain attributes. Here D'souza refer to the rigidity-fluid dimension of social stratification implying class as a case of fluidity and caste as referring to rigidity. Caste as a system of social stratification represent a semblance of rigidity and fluidity, cooperation and competition, holism and individualism, organic and seminary divisions, interdependence and autonomy and inequality and equality, etc. Weber's notion of class situation and market situation has been found relevant for studying class in India.

Since caste incorporates class and class incorporates caste, neither ' caste view' alone nor ' class view alone would explained the totality of India's social reality (Sharma, 1986:23) Researchers by Stein (1968), Panikkar (1955) and others have shown that a perfect congruence between caste, class and power never existed in the pre-British India. Probably migration was quite normal activities particularly resulting from warfare for acquiring powers and revolts against the atrocities committed by the rulers and upper caste priests. In recent years, land reforms, adult franchise and certain constitutional provision have brought about incongruities in summation of status. Kosambi (1958: 86-870 analyses the Aryans after the rig Veda from the point of their economic formation. Taper (1974: 95-123) Habib (1974: 264-316), and Desai (1948) have analyzed class character of Indian society in ancient, medieval and modern India respectively. H.B.Lamb (1975: 25-34) has reported prevalence of class relations as early as 600 B.C. in India. Material and cultural traditions existed in a congruent form, and class transformation had been a vital fact in the form of new kingdoms, settled agriculture, trade, cities, banking and guild organizations.

According to Sharma (1986: 23-24) both caste and class are the real dimension of Indians social formation by and large inseparable from each other. Class is not simply a category conceptually abstracted. It is not simply a construct based on certain attributes or indices operationally derived. Classes of land owners, or landless laborers and money lenders are not abstractions. But they are existential structural components of India's class structure. Interactional ties (both conflicts and cooperation) between them refer to their life situation. caste and class nexus is highlighted by Gough (1980: 337-64) in her analysis of mode of production as a social formation in which she finds inter-connections of caste, kinship, family and marriage with force of production and production relations. The Marxist ideologists Namboodiripad (1979: 329-36) and Ranadive (1979: 337-480) consider class relationships as domain assumption in the treatment of caste and kinship in India. Even Varna and Jajmani system have been explained in terms of class relations and the modes of production (Meillassoux, 1973: 89-111). A 'class view' of social structure and social relations is found in the analysis of several others including Djurfeld Goran and J.Linberg (1975), H. Singh (1979), Thorner (1974), Saith and Tanakha (1972: 712-23) and Barduaj and Das (1975: 222-23).

Caste and class represent to a large extent the same structural reality. Singh (1968: 171) rightly comments on caste and class nexus the situation corresponds to a 'premitic' model of change where traditional sentiments of caste and kinship undergo adaptive transformation without completely geeing diffracted' in to classer corporate group. Classes operate with in the frame work of castes" caste conflict is also class conflict as the gap between the upper and lower castes is also the same that one finds between the high and low classes. Castes also functions as classes as they are geared for performing

their class interest. Therefore common class consciousness among the members of a caste are mainly due to their common economic deprivation. Caste associations particularly in urban context perform economic and political functions for the benefit of their respective members. Thus caste is more of interaction group groups rather than attribution constructs. Joan Mencher (1974: 469) finds caste as a very effective system of economic exploitation of lower caste precisely due to this the upper caste (in the garb of exploiting classes) have not allowed emergence of class consciousness among the lower classes as they feared a threat to their entrenched status in India's social structure.

The concept of class in regard to Indian society, Marx himself stated about caste and traditional ethos of village communities in his to article on India in 1853 in the New York Daily Tribune (1951). Initially Marx thought of Asiatic Mode of production by which he meant absence of private property in land and static nature of economy due to certain tie up between caste, agriculture and village handicrafts. However, Kurian (1980: 96-106) observes the analysis of Asiatic mode does not deny the role of class contradictions and class structures. India's pre-capitalist economic formation was neither classless nor static, social relations and exploitations were based on both caste and class side by side. Different forms of communal societies, forms of slavery and bondage, and feudal relations have existed in different combinations in the same areas at the same time.

Ashook Rudra (1978: 916-230) while analyzing the class composition of the Indian agricultural population observe as that there are only two classes in Indian agriculture, one of which is termed the class of big landlord' the other' the class of agricultural labors'. These two classes are in antagonistic contradiction with each other,

and this contradiction constitutes the principle contradiction in Indian rural society. Similar to Rudras view is the view held by Desai (1948, 1975), Rudra and those who adhere to his view do not accept the view that class differentiation in terms of agricultural laborers, poor peasants, middle peasants, rich peasants, landlords etc, exists today and even existed in medieval India (Sharma, 1983b) Kotsambis (1958) accepts mode of production as the basis of understanding of class relations, but does not accept the hypothesis of 'economic determinism' and universal application of Maxims as a monolithic frame of reference and method of study concepts specifically relevant for studying Indian society could be evolved from its historicity and experience. D.P.Mukharji (1958) and Danial Thorner (1974), for example have used indigenous concepts drawing from agrarian relations and India's cultural heritage. Even Utsa Patnaik (1976: a82-a101) who uses notions of mode of production and differentiation of peasantry borrowed from writings of Mao and Lenin rejects a mechanical acceptance of Marx model of study. She observes that several modes of production co-exist in India and there has been a limited and destroyed development of Capitalism. Sharat.G.Lin (1980) makes a reference of interpretation and integration of pre-capitalist and capitalist relations.

Nexus between class and caste Gough (1960: 11-60) has analyzed conflicts and litigations between different castes in a Tanjore village based on economic inequalities. The mix of caste and class in East Bengal (Mukhaerjee, R.K.1957), and class genesis of caste structure in Bengal (Bose, 1967) and changes from caste to class by B.B.Mishra (1964), Beteille (1969: 17-31). Miller (1975), and Kolenda (1978), have been reported. Some scholars (Desai, 1948, 1975, 1980, Bettelheim, 1968) have undertaken a class

analysis of India's social formation considering caste, religion, family and politics as subservient to class relations. However, Harris (1982) and Gail Onvet (1982) have analyzed class relations as a dominant causality with in which they explain caste and other cultural aspects in Indian society. The scholars' dispositions have objected to the culturological determinism as advocated by Srinivas (1952, 1976) Dumont (1970) and several others of their persuasion. Parvathamma (1978: 91) while commenting on Srinivas' *Remembered Village* writes: 'in all the writings of Srinivas, the Brahman-non-Brahman values are juxtaposed'. Hierarchy based on pollution and purity remains intrinsic to Srinivas, thinking in regard to all aspects of human life even it is actually not so pronounced. However, Bailey (1963: 107-24) incorporates both cultural and structural dimensions in the definition of caste. Class as an analytic notion is used by Beteille (1965), Bhatt (1975) and Agrawal (1971) as they draw a distinct line of demarcation between caste, class and power. Emergence of grades within a caste has also been referred as class-like changes within caste. Hyper gamy within caste endogamy always refers to status distinctions based on economic position and parental heritage, and therefore, class grade have always been there as part of the caste system itself. Class is not a result of the new forces of change which have affected the caste system changes are in the traditional caste class relations. Thus classes are found as a part of system of social stratification in the same way as castes are rooted in the Indian society. There is no universal and monolithic nature of class, class relations and class conflict. There are certainly objective criteria of class identification and determination of class position. A class is certainly a concrete unit of interaction with other units.

Some empirical studies reveal a high concentration of socially backward castes among tenant cultivators. The study by Reddy and Murthy (1978: 1061-76) show that as many as 73rd percent of the pure tenant cultivators 70 percent belong to these backward caste. The backward caste tenant cultivators are predominant in the small and medium size groups. The socially backward castes in Andhra Pradesh consist of Brahman, Kapu, Devanga and others. Thus most of the tenants of small and medium size belong to economically and socially depressed caste and pure rent receivers except twelve percent belong to the dominant castes. Mukherje (1981:112) cites the example of caste-riots to explain the unidimensionality of caste, class and religion. He writes “caste riots are frequent in those areas where the caste wise ‘social’ deprivations are manifestly correlated with the class-wise economic deprivations; such as in Bihar, Maharastra, Tamilnadu, etc.” According to Mukherje these caste contradictions are due to inherent class contradictions in the caste system. Vagiswari (1972) observes that the non-Harijans have become proletarians during 1950-1970; whereas the non-Harijans have improved their economic standing during the same period.

The Dalit or Harijan have been attacked, murdered, their women folk raped and put to indignities. Arun Sinha (1977: 2037-40) observed that it is class war’ against harijans, and not atrocities. In another dispatch to Economic and Political weekly Sinha (1978: 675-76) observe that “in the villages of Rihar, the rise of rich peasant class has driven agricultural laborers of all-castes-Chamars, Dusadhs, Kurumis. Yadaus, Rhuminhrs, and so on to forsake of their caste organizations and fight along trade union lines”. This shows that ‘class war’ cuts across caste lines.

The incidence of massacre, loot and rape of scheduled caste in Belchi, Agra, Pantnagar, Marathwada and Bajitpur, among other places, show the role of the caste system vis-à-vis class struggle and class organization as reported by Atyachar Virodhi Samiti (1979: 845-52). The Samiti investigated the nature and extent of repression of scheduled castes in Marathwada in Maharashtra who were also poor peasants and agricultural laborers. The specific oppression and exploitation of women among the rural poor both sexually and as a class, particularly the Dalit women have been highlighted in the report by the Samiti. The findings and observations of Atyachar Virodhi Samiti on caste is seen as a caste as a relations of production.

The view of Samiti: "Caste is one of the important aspect of the Indian society. It represent a specific form of oppression at the level of relations of production. To say there are only classes issue, nothing like questions pertaining to caste, is only absurd, because of the material reality that caste divisions beyond purely (economic) classes yet persist. So issues around specific caste questions must be taken by all the progressive and leftist Dalits and non Dalits and organizations (Samiti: Year? 852). A report from a village in Punjab by Amrinder pal Singh (1979: 1753-54) shows that farm workers are harijans and rich farmers are Jats and Sikhs. The principle demand of the village workers is an increase in the wage. The big and middle peasant are united in opposition to the agricultural labors., thus both class and caste are found inseparably in the tense situation. Convergence of caste and class has been reported P.K.Bose (1981: a713-16) in Gujarat against reservation of seats for post –graduate medical courtesan in Bihar against for reserving 44% of government jobs for the backward classes. The B. P. Mandal commission for Backward Classes was faced with the problem of caste and class

convergence. The commission thought that caste and class hierarchies went together and therefore caste was considered as the basis of determining backwardness of given number of society. In the context of Bihar Arvind N. Vyas (1984: 1616-19) observe that apparently the phenomena of caste is found in its virulent form, but to ignore the concept of class is to undermine the concrete conditions of the state.

Classes are found in India in caste idiom's Marxist explanation of this: caste should be analyzed in regard to its nature, its material basis in history and in the present and its role in politics. Which caste are the ruling ones, and which ones own the land and the capital, employ wage-labors and extract surplus caste division hamper progress and unity among the oppressed classes. According to this view all classes are defined by the relations in whom the various sections of society are found related to the means of production, and castes are a carryover of feudal class divisions. The annual number of Economic and Political Weekly of 1979 is especially devoted to "Class and Caste in India" implying a class view of caste and not vice versa. The titles in this volume include, 'Dialectics of caste and class conflict', "Caste and class: an interlinked view", "Caste conflicts versus Growing unity of popular Democratic Forces", "Caste, Class and property Relations", "Caste and Class in Maharashtra", "Caste and Class in Tribal movement", "Caste Class and economic opportunity in Kerala: an empirical analysis", "Castes and Class in Bihar", and "Class and Jati at Asthapuram and Kanthapuram", etc. All these studies report caste and class Nexus, use of Caste, Class and religion for gaining political power, emergence of an elite class in every caste, an inter linked view caste and class, realization of caste idioms in power game, role of caste in agrarian and social movements.

Louis Dumont (1970) considers caste as a method of studying Indian society. To him, caste is social' as religion is social, to Radcliffe Brown and Durkheim. Dumont approvingly quoted from Hocart, Senart, and Hutton who have advocated for continuity of caste system by emphasizing the functions of caste system for individual members, for caste as a group and for the entire Indian society or state (Hutton 1964). They make a sharp distinction between caste and class. Class is considered as a characteristics feature of the western society and is characterized by its emphasize on democracy, individualism and openness. On the contrary caste as the core features of the Indian society is defined as an archaic institution lacking in democracy, individualism, and freedom (Sharma, 1980).

The structural –functional theory of social stratification dominated in the fifties, congruence between caste ,class and power was found in village community. Division of labor among various castes in a given local situation was found desirable. Corporate character of caste groups was analyzed within the framework of intra-caste and inter-caste relations. Structuralism and Maxims as explanations of and approaches to social stratification acquired prominence in the Sixties. Dumont is the spokesman of structuralism Marxism has been advocated by A.R.Desai and Charles Bettelheim. However, in the seventies, the historical perspective has been accepted by the Marxists and as well as non-Marxists in their studies of social stratification. The non Marxist adherents of structural-historical perspective have given more emphasis on understanding society in relation to its historicity (Singh, 1974, 1981).

Caste as the singular institution of social Rankin has been the characteristic argument during fifties in the studies of Hutton, Ghurye Hocart, Bougle, Myrdal, Leach, Srinivas, Marriot, and Lewis etc. All of them treated caste as a conterminous with the entire gamut of social relation and it thought it to be an all inclusive basis of social stratification (Beteille, 1969:17). Multi mentality of social stratification is emphasized in the sixties in the studies conducted by Beteille (1965) Bhatt (1975) and Agrawal (1971). Class and power along with caste are treated as economic and political dimension of social in equality and hierarchy. Ramakrishna Mukherje (1957) Kathleen Gough (1960) and Joan Mencher (1974) however, look at caste from a class point of view. Menchar feels that caste should be studied from "upside down" rather than through "top down" view. Caste is treated by all these scholars as a system of economic relations rather than merely as a system of ritual hierarchy K.L.Sharma (1974) him self applied both structural and cultural perspectives for understanding social stratification in six villages of Rajasthan.

Functional approach to the study of caste system implied that it was a useful. Institution and it would not change, and also that and it would not adopt itself to meet the challenge and exigencies of a verity of situations. Caste was found adaptive and pragmatic system performing as an interest group for its members (Kothari;1970b). Normative and cultural aspect of caste have received more attention through analysis of sanskritization and westernization (Srinivas:19660). Several studies have comprehended contemporary changes in the caste system as a movement from its organic nature to its segmentary character, from its closeness to openness and from its emphasis on corporations to individualism (Bailey, 1957, Miller, 1975).

Srinivas (1952) study of the role of religion among this an extension of Radcliff-Browns functionalism. Religion is sui-generis for Srinivas. Caste and religion are intertwined, hence religion become the basis of caste hierarchy. Beteille (1965) in trying to go beyond caste through his "Caste and Class and Power" analysis is explicitly guided and inspired by Webbers trio logy of class, status, and partying the understanding of Indian social stratification. structuralism, Marxism, and positivism along with their numerous variations have been accepted more as Fees than relevant theoretical and methodological devices.

Beteille makes a distinction between caste and class and power on the pattern of 'Class. Status and Party' as suggested by the Max Weber (1970).The distinction between this three is justified by Beteilles observation of" the differentiation of institutional structures" and also because he does not find "summation of statuses" (Beteille, 1966, Bailey, 1963). Beteille also noted that there is very little preoccupation with purity-pollution rituals in general.

Anil Bhatt's (1975) study of caste, class and politics contains a clear theoretical exposition and objective of the study. He has borrowed extensively from studies of "comparative politics" and comparative functionalism, and in fact use the phrase" comparative social stratification." His main focus is on the understanding of "summation of statuses" between the contemporary social structure and politics. This he does by comparing the traditional Indian society with its contemporary setting.

Victor S.D'Souzas (1967, 1968) study of caste and class in Chandigarh highlight the significance of the continuum of the rigidity –fluidity dimensions and also of the

individual and his properties as the unit of analysis. All this exercise is implicitly pattern on the notion of positivism of the structural-functional variety. His emphasis is on constructing 'order' of classes based on education, occupation and income.

Furnivall, Senart, and Hutton listed a couple of functions of caste system in the books they wrote on caste. They propagate that caste was a useful institution for Hindus in particular and for Indians in general. Recently, some more western scholars have also lent support to this verdict inferentially through the findings of their studies (Marriot, 1965). They have stated that caste have a secular aspect. Kothari (1970a) reports that one American scholar even talk of "the democratic interaction of caste". According to some, caste has even led to the modernization of India's polity. Kothari (1970b) accept these statements and considers caste apolitical.

Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* is the most well-known exposition of Structuralism perspective on social stratification. The pivotal notion of Dumont structuralism as noted by Y. Singh (1981) is ideology, dialectics, transformation. The basic tenet of caste system is "hierarchy."

A couple of studies on caste and class have taken 'change' as the focal point of analysis. Structural-historical perspective is being applied by those who lay emphasis on the study of differentiation, evaluation and change in cast and class in India. Mode of production in agriculture and industry in relation to caste and class has been discussed both by economic historians and anthropologists. (Frykenberg, 1969). The Marxists look at the origin or evolution of caste from the point of economic relations. Political activist like Dange (1949) Randive (1979) and Namboodiripad (1979) look at caste as a

mechanism of exploitation in the hands of the upper caste Non-Marxists consider not as a super-structural entity, but mainly as a basic institution of division of labor and harmonic relations. Mode of production is the key to the Marxist theory of social stratification. A.R.Desai (1948) study is a well known example of “orthodox Marxism”. Other variants of Marxist analysis of caste, class, and land relation are the studies of D. P. Mukharji (1958) Kathleen Gough (1980) and Gail Omvedt (1982).

While analyzing caste among Muslims, Ansari (1960) has concluded that social structures among Muslims are also organized according to the caste principles. A consideration of caste among Muslim at once raises the question whether the term caste can be applied to the system of social stratification of a community which professes a faith other than Hinduism. Leach (1960: 2) has raised the question as to whether caste is best considered as a cultural or as a structural phenomenon. There are two broad points of view on this question. On the one hand, there are some following Weber (1970:396) take the position that caste is fundamental institution of Hinduism and its use should be restricted to Hindus or at best to social groups which through professing other faiths, live with or near Hindu communities. Dumont (1957:7-22) considers the same within his conceptual framework of ‘pan Indian civilization’. On the other hand, a second group of sociologists and social anthropologists define caste as structural term so as to be applicable to the relationship between two or more groups in other religions and societies as well (Bailey, 1963: 107-124; Berman, 1960: 120-27; and Harper, 1968).

Agrawal (1978:141-157) who begins his analysis of the Meos with a fairly broad structural definition of caste as ‘a ranked social division in which membership is

determine by birth' (1978: 142) comes increasingly, as his analysis proceeds, to the Meos in terms of the cultural characteristics of caste and finally employs the degree of correspondence between them and Hindu cast groups as a basis for characterizing them as a caste.

Mines (1978: 159-169) view is that the system of social stratification among Tamil Muslim as is not comparable in any respect to the Hindu caste system. He contends that the different Muslim subdivisions described by him are not ranked hierarchically and regarded as approximately of equal status, though there is ranking of individuals in terms of age, wealth and religiousness ,etc. (1978: 162). Again he argues that though the endogamy occurs, the overriding concern of endogamy is not an account of a 'desire' to maintain a purity of blood, as one would expect to find associated with the system of Hindu caste ranking: But Rather arises from tendency to match spouses who' share the same economic background and the same cultural and particularly religious traditions (1978: 164).

Bhattacharya (1978: 269-298) designates the system of social stratification among Muslims of rural West Bengal as a system of inter ethnic stratification rather than as a caste system and justifies the usage on the ground that it shares certain features of the caste system but is not quite like it (1978: 270). Similarly Dube (1978: 57-95) suggest that the social groups she describes from the Lakshdweep Island of south west coast of India are analogous to caste among the Hindu but do not correspond to it every detail.

Caste among the Hindus is usually defined in terms of list of cultural characteristics for traits which are supposed to form a syndrome (Leach, 1960: 2).The

minimal set of primary characteristics which together constitute the real essence of caste among the Hindus are the following Hutton,(1964: 49) and Ghurye (1950).

1. Caste is endogamous.
2. It involves occupational specialization.
3. Castes are hierarchically ordered.
4. Caste has an ideological religious basis involving restriction on social intercourse and commensality.

Exactions and modification in some of these features can be found in various part of India, particularly in urban areas (Kapadia, 1958). Muslim group are endogamous. Occasionally, marriages between two or more social divisions are allowed, especially at higher levels. Bhattacharya (1978) claim that rules regarding inter-group marriages are in any case largely theoretical as 'there is no evidence to suggest that these rule are ever been put to a test' (1978: 289). He concludes that local Muslim group in rural west Bengal may conveniently regarded as endogamous units. Endogamy among caste occurs even in the metropolitan situation described by Sidique (1978: 243-268). 'Inter-ethnic marriages, in spite of similarity in class status, are severely discouraged' (Siddique, 1978: 258). Siddique (1978) shows that endogamy obtains even among the immigrant groups. These he suggests, live in Calcutta detached from their place of origin and periodically go back to them for important life cycle rituals, including marriage. Consequently, their marriages also arranged according to the norm that govern the local situation and are usually endogamous. Where inter-marriages take place across groups, as is illustrated by the case of marriage of a local girl to Afghan man, the girl is excluded from her parental family and retains patriarchal norm conduct with it. It would seem that in all such situations the child belongs to the caste of one parent and the separate caste populations are maintained by this ascription.

Mines (1978) claims that endogamy occurs among the Tamil Muslims studied by him because of a concern among the families for matching spouses in terms of economic background and cultural and religious traditions. He rules out the possibility that the endogamy among the group studied by him anything to do with the desire to maintain purity of blood. on the contrary Siddique and Ahammed suggested that the occurrence of endogamy is underscored by the notion of ritual purity of blood. Siddique (1978: 258) says that some sort of sanctity its attached to the purity of decent as is evident from the use of such term as Sudh as against bossier or impure, najib- ut- tarfain as against birr or barrage i.e., of mixed descent. Ahamed (1978:171-206) shows that a notion of ritual not only occurs among the Shaikh and Siddique but it also constitutes among the main source of the split between the two marriage circle (1978:199). He also peon out that family genealogy is frequently is used as a means of asserting this ritual purity of blood and born, and that each family maintains a fairly detailed account of its decent and marriages as a proof of its purity of blood. Siddique (1978) and Ahammed (1978b) also intricate that notion of ritual purity of blood is accompanied by a belief in the possibility of its pollution through intermarriage.

The picture in respect of occupational specialization is similar to endogamy. Bhattyy's (1978:207-2240) account of Kasuli in Uttar Pradesh and Aggrawals (1978) discussion of the Meo village in Rajastan provide evidence of a full-fledged Jajmani system with the locally dominant caste serving as the nucleus of the exchange of goods and services. Bhattacharya (19780) shows that each of the main groups resident in rural West Bengal is traditionally associated with a particular occupation which is frequently implied its mane and is closely tied to the system of exchange of goods and services

characteristics of Hindu India, similarly Dube also (1978) points out that the Koyas, the Muslim and the Melachies have specific occupation associated with them and attempt by some groups to brake away from their traditional occupation and to encroach up on those of others have resulted in social tension and strife.

There is a difference in the degree of correspondence between caste and occupation at various levels of social hierarchy. Such links seems to be stronger at the bottom of tee social hierarchy than at higher levels. For example Bhattacharya (1978) points out that the upper groups in rural west Bengal do not claim any hereditary occupation and live mainly by agriculture. Ahammed (1978) suggest that the seikh and Siddique are not engaged in any particular traditional occupation though they were originally land record keepers.

1. Caste hierarchy among the Hindus based on the relation between pure and impure who leads to a hierarchy of status based on pollution. D'Souza (1978: 41-56), while admitting that different Muslim social division in Karnataka and Kerala are hierarchically ranked, does not associated consideration of rituals purity and pollution with the basis of caste ranking. Dube (1978: 78) points out that social disabilities attached to the lower caste on the Lacadive Island were an integral part of the social structure. She says 'their violation did not indicate any possibility of pollution through touch or show, or through the sharing of air, it was part of thru difference structure, emphasizing inequality of status, Siddique (1978) and Bhattacharya (1978) are inclined to feel that consideration of ritual purity and pollution are present in the case of Muaslms. Siddique (1978) shows that the most common pattern of inter dining is the

one confined to ones kin groups or known range within the kin group.’ The symbolic ritual quality of the members of an ethnic group is expressed in such terms as *tat* or *chatai* upon which members can sit, smoke and eat together (1978: 260). He however admits that the idea of pollution in matters of inter dining is limited to clean caste s with regard to the unclean ones. Bhattacharya (1978) claims that the emphasis placed by the higher class on cleanliness and sense of hygienic as reasons for refusing to eat with the Momins, Patus and Shah’s arises from ritual considerations.’ in reality he says ‘they have a concept of ritual purity and pollution’ (1978: 291). Ranking of caste is based on is quiet frequently on a number of non-ritual criteria D’souza (1978: 41-56) lists four principle criteria of social ranking among the Moplah Muslims. These are (a) hyper gamy; (b) the amount of dower payable by the husbands to his wife in the event of a divorce; (c) use of special articles of distinction; and (d) segregation and restriction on social intercourse 1978: 47-9).Bhattacharya (1978) mention as criteria of ranking the seclusion of women (*purdha*) performance of absolutions after urination and the observance of daily prayers. Siddiqui (1978) suggest that ranking is based on the nature of occupation, the comparative numerical strength of the groups, and descent. Ahmad (1978) mentions decent, particularly the source from which is traced and its distance from Muhammad, as well as the degree of islamization of customs and ritual practices of the groups. According to Dube (1978), Social ranking on the Locative Island is based on hyper gamy, the nature of occupation and relative standing of the caste in the politico economic structure.

Ahmad (1978b) provides detailed data on the pattern of hypergamous marriage and show how hyper gamy has been used by socially mobile castes; Seikh Siddiquis as a

means of climbing in their search for new status identity. Bhattacharya describes, Though Sayyad men are allowed to marry women of lower groups but Sayyad women cannot marry below their group. Dube (1978) points out that the Koya men can marry Malumi women but the marriage of Koya women with Malumi or Melacheri men is severely discouraged. Such discouragement is also characteristic of the Moplah a social division describes by D'Souza (1978).

Caste among the Hindus is based on a religious philosophy which supports social divisions, and certain theological notions serve to reinforce them (Dumont, 1970:36-39). Certain Hindu theological notions like Karma and Dharma', writes Srinivas, 'have contributed to very greatly to the strengthening of the idea of hierarchy which is inherent in the caste system. It is also represent certain mile stones on the soul's journey to God' (Srinivas: 1952: 25). Religious and Philosophical basis of Hindu caste is so pronounced that Bergel (1962:37) feels that the caste system cannot be understood unless it is recognized as a religious institution. Dumont (1970) sees the religious opposition of pure and impure as the fundamental structure which makes the social system a unique form.

Hindu ideological justification of the caste system does not exist in the case of Muslims. Aggrawal (1978: 141) cites the Koran's verse which explicitly reject s gradation of group and individuals in terms of this and ideology of pure and impure and suggests theta the only criterion of social evaluation recognized in Islam is religious piety. Bhattacharya (1978) notes that the formal religious values of *alma* are opposed to any rigid system of ethnic and social stratification as the Islamic great tradition does not offer any sanction for it. Siddiqui (1978) also assert that the existence of an hierarchical

order generally receives overt denial from the great traditional values of the Muslims. But evidence presented by these and other contributors clearly indicates that while the formal religious ideology to which all Muslims claim adherence denies caste distinctions, there is another alternative ideology which recognizes such distinctions and according to which observable social inequalities are correlated to Islamic tenets. Bhattacharya (1978:294) thus point out: To my mind, inequalities in the social status of different Muslim ethnic groups, in contrast to their conscious Islamic model of an egalitarian society, make them mentally insecure. They try to overcome this mental dilemma caused by sharp contrast between their ideology and practiced pattern by rethinking the undeniable social fact of status inequality in terms of suitable idioms that can be successfully related to their traditions'. Bhattacharya (1978) goes on to suggest that these idioms are often inadequate as explanation for the complex nature of Muslim social life, but the significant point is that such idioms nevertheless exist. It shows that if the formal Islamic ideology rejects caste, the actual beliefs held by the Muslims not only recognize caste distinction but also seek to rationalize those irreligious terms. (Expiable) Presumably, it is this rationalization that has as Siddiqui (1978: 267) suggests towards the end of his paper, allowed caste distinctions among Muslims to persist without much evidence of internal conflict. It is clear that caste exists as a basis of social relations among them (Muslims), but it is from has been greatly weekend and modified and it differs from the Hindu caste model in certain detail (Ahmad, 1978: 12).

Caste exists among the Muslims at once raises the question whether it owes itself directly to the acculturative influence of Hinduism, or are there some elements within Islam itself which support such distinctions. The common view in this connection seems

to be that caste is directly attributable to the acculturative influence of Hinduism (Ansari, 1960: 96; Srinivas *et.al.* 1959a: 135-85; S. C. Misra, 1964 and Dumont, 1970: 205-12) Srinivas and his associates suspect it is likely that Hindus who were converted to Islam continued to regard themselves as castes, while foreign, conquering groups of Muslims, like Arabs and Pathans, fell in to the position of upper castes' (1959a: 149). Dumont finds that caste was consciously adopted by the Muslims in India as a compromise which they had to make in a predominantly Hindu environment. After tracing the conflicting nature of the two groups, he suggest that Hindus and Muslims in India entered a sort of tacit and reciprocal compromise on the one hand, the Hindus adjusted themselves to political masters who did not recognize Brahmanism values and 'they did not treat even the most humble Muslim villagers as untouchables' (Dumont, 1970: 205-206) on the other hand the influence of caste made itself felt among the Muslims. Dumont traces the acceptance of the caste principle by the Muslim to the proximity of the Hindu environment which predominates both generally and regionally (Dumont, 1970: 270).Bhattacharya shows of caste among them as resulting from Hindu influence (1978: 293).

Patnaik (1976: a82-a101) has suggested the E-criterion model for identifying the agrarian classes in the Indian countryside. when we look at the data on the ownership and operation of land and the ownership of livestock, imlements and other means production up by the NSS and the farm management studies, there is one fact which emerges strikingly: the high degree of concentration of both land and non-land resources with a minority of cultivators, while the majority have command over a disproportionately low share of resources. The implication of such high degree of concentration of the means of

production is that there's a correspondingly high degree of economic differentiation within the cultivating population. This different type of holdings enter in to relations with each other in the production process through labor hiring and land leasing (1976: a83). The Marxist prosecution is that economic classes are to be looked at in terms of above two related criteria.; process of means of production and the exploitation of labor. In agriculture such as India's, the two poles are really identified: the landless and near landless who possess no or little means of production and are therefore mainly or wholly depend on working for others; and the land lord and capitalist, who concentrate sufficient means of production not to need to labor themselves but line on implying others. Precisely in agriculture, however, the middle category of petty producers may be expected to be still fairly numerous: those who possess just sufficient means of production to make living with family labor, neither employing the labor of others nor working of others (Patnaik. 1976:a83).

Indeed, it is this type that most people have in mind when they talk about the "the peasant" the ideal type of independent petty producer who neither exploit nor is exploited, and it is this type which is supposed to make up "the peasant economy" for those who think that independent petty production is still the defining characteristic of the agriculture of actual economies such as India's.(see for this point of Thornier (1962).

Patnaik (1976: a85) distinguished five economic classes(1) Landlord, (2) Rich peasant, (3) Middle peasant:(I) upper middle (I) lower middle (4) Poor peasant and (5) Fully-time labor.(1) the first category contains both big land owners of the feudal type and capitalists, distinguished from the peasants by the fact that family members do not

perform manual labor in any major farm operations.(2) The second category is the top stratum of the peasantry, the rich peasants. they perform some manual work in major farm operations and are therefore distinguished from the landlord capitalists.(3) The middle peasantry is primarily self employed, since on average its resource position per capita is such as to just employ family labor adequately and provide a livelihood at a customary subsistence level.(a) we designate as upper middle peasants those who are net exploiters of others labor, (b) The lower middle peasants are those who either do not exploit labor at all.(4) The poor peasants resource position is so bad as to necessitate working mainly for others in order to obtain a subsistence, whether directly through hiring out labor for wages or indirectly through leasing in land even on high rents, or a combination of the two.(5) The full time laborer does not operate.

For those familiar with their classes, it will be evident that labor-exploitation criterion suggested above is simply a slight formulation in terms of single index which most closely captures class status as well as a synthesis, of the analysis presented both by Lenin (1920) and by Mao Tse-tung (1930). Lenin (1920) discusses the following classes in the context of the European capitalist countries in 1920:(1) first, the agricultural, proletariat, wage-laborers (by the year, season, or day) who obtain their livelihood by working for hire at capitalist agricultural enterprises (ii) second, the semi proletarians or peasant who till tiny plots of land, i.e., those who obtain their livelihood partly as wage laborers.(iii) third, the small peasantry, i.e., the small-scale tillers who, either as owners or tenants, hold small plots of land which. (iv) In the economic sense one should understand by "middle peasants" those small farms who, (1) either as owners or tenants hold plots of land that are also small.(v) The big peasants (Grossbauern) are capitalist entrepreneurs in

agriculture, who as a rule employ several hired laborers.(vi) The big landowners, who, in capitalist countries, directly or through their tenant farmers, systematically exploit wage-labor and the neighboring small”.

Mao-Tse-tung (1930) has pointed out the following rural classes .(1)” The landlord’s land is a person who owns land, does not engage in labor himself and so only to a very small extent and lives by exploiting the peasants. The collection of land rent is his main form of exploitation” (2)” The rich peasants: the rich peasants as a rule own land. But some rich peasants own only part of their land and rent the remainder. His main form of exploitation is the hiring of labor.” (3)” The middle peasant: many middle peasants own land. Some own part of their land and rent the rest.(4)” The poor peasant: among the poor peasants some own part of their land. Others own no land at all but only a few odd farm implements.” (5) “The worker: The worker (including the farm laborer) as a rule own no land or farm implements, though some do own a very small amount of land and very few farm implements”.

One of the earliest studies, carried out in 1954-55 by A.M.Khusro (Patnaik, 1976) on the effect of jagirdari abolition in Hyderabad, showed that roughly per cent of all ‘Protected tenants’ created in 1951 (tenants with six years or more of recorded occupation of land) were thrown out in Jagir areas under the heads of legal and illegal evictions, and voluntary surrender by 1954-55. Only one-eighth had exercised the right to purchase land while under half of the tenants remained in occupation while there was not much difference in the size of tenanted plots of those who remained compared to those who were thrown out of except in Marathwada region) the author tells us that the former were

on average the bigger operation of land while the latter operated small holdings (Patnaik, 1976: a95) A sample survey of tenanted plots carried out by G.Parthasarathy and B.Prasad Rao in 1965 showed that in the Diwani areas protected tenants of 1955 continued to be in possession on only 55 percent of the plots with 65.5 percent of the area, while eviction and surrenders accounted for 25 percent of plots with 20.8 percent of the area, the remaining having been purchased (Patnaik, 1976: a95).

The intensive study by K. R Nanekar of land reforms in Vidarbha, in the Nagpur district of Vidarbha, 96 percent of all sample tenancies studied ceased during the reference period 1951 to 1961, owing to surrenders and evictions. In 65 percent of all cases the tenant had no land left at all after tenancy ceased, and in another 20.9 percent of cases they had land owned or reentered from others-below 5 acres (Patnaik, 1976: a95).

The study by B. Singh and S.Misra of land reforms in Uttar Pradesh, showed that over half the sample households had no bhumidari (ownership) right over any part of their holding after reform, though provision had been made for them to buy ownership (Patnaik, 1976: 96). In Rajasthan, similarly the study by Dool Singh showed that the majority of the tenants preassembly of poor peasant and middle peasant status could not acquire the superior land holding right (Khatedari) owing to ignorance, lack of cash, and land lord pressure (Patnaik, 1976: a96). These derived evaluation studies, to sum up, are consistent with the conclusion that the benefits to tenancy reform went mainly if not exclusively to the tenants who were already on rich peasant status before reform, and who could improve their position further by purchase of ownership right to tenanted land.

2.1 CASTE AND CLASS ANALYSIS IN KERALA

The 19th century witnessed the British colonialists initiating thoroughgoing change in the Indian subcontinent, and the society on the Malabar Coast was no exception to the rule. Thus economic, political and ideological interventions of the colonial agent radically altered the caste based social ensemble of Kerala from 19th century onwards. Of course, the gradual unfolding of this trend goes back to a much earlier date-possibly the 16th century Portuguese intrusions upon the Kerala spice trade. The consolidation processes under the patrimonial militarist regimes such as in 18th century Tiruvitamkur which preceded the colonial rule per se, also had subverted the caste domain which had, until then, formed the social relations in the various kingdoms of the region. Thus the Nayers aristocracy and militia that had worked in tandem with the Nambudiries -mediated temple-based social milieus of these petty kingdoms were slowly but systematically eroded, initially by the consolidation processes and finally and irrevocably by the colonizers forces. The overt as well as covert incursions of the colonizer into the caste domain from 1800 onwards were, by and large, a direct fall-out of their economic, political and cultural designs in the region. The changes that were ushered in thus, drastically altered the living conditions of most social groups and classes. The emergence of a national market attuned to colonial trade had, by and large, a calamitous effect on the artisans and peasantry while a tiny middle class consisting of the colonial salariat and professionals along with the commercial and trading elites experienced considerable upward mobility. Though substantial sections of this emergent middle class consciously or unconsciously subserved the material as well as ideological interests of the colonial regime; they were also as a catalyst to several social movements

reformatory, reactionary and radical. The social reform movements enveloped the domestic, socio-cultural and religious spaces thus releasing at first the modern educated sections from traditional ties. The nationalist and class movements that followed in Kerala were thus an extension of the initial struggles against primordial ties like caste, while the anti-caste movements had taken up radical and secular stances on vital issues like civic rights and casteist oppression, they had, in the end, also led to communalization of political space, thanks to the maneuverings of their elitist leadership.

2.2 CASTE AND BRITISH INTERVENTIONS

A series of military, economic and socio-political measures taken by the colonial state had a lasting impact on the social development of Kerala from early 19th century onwards. Lemercinier has reviewed the several legislations that were introduced by the colonial agent and their implications for the various caste and religious groups of colonial Kerala. Frankel shows how the British state had a double-edged impact all over India which simultaneously strengthened locally dominant land controllers (Janmies in colonial Kerala) while undermining their legitimacy. Thus Nayars Army, like the poligar warrior-chiefs of Tamil Nadu, was disarmed and banned out of existence. The traditional monarchies of Tiruvitamkur and Kochi were considerably weakened by the British incursions which selectively strengthened the autonomous character of the social units at the base. Thus Nayars and Brahmans on whom the earlier social organization was built lost their power while new groups like the intermediate castes experienced considerable social ascendancy.

The various legislations primarily attempted to produce new social practices in the religion. Significantly they reflected the underlying power equations between the contending classes and groups of the region. In Tiruvitamkur the 1812 decree which confiscated the extensive landed properties of 378 biggest temples was certainly aimed at cutting the Nambudiries and Nayars chiefs down to size. The British Resident-com-Dewan brought out this legislation shortly after the Kollam revolt. The legislation which coincided with the suppression of Nayars army abolished the Nambutiri Sanketams (sacred territories controlled by Brahman's). The Nayar rebels had until 1812 sought asylum in these sacred precincts over which Nambudiries had considerable jurisdiction. With the abolition of sanketams, whose land was all confiscated, the Brahmans were now virtually reduced to mere religious agents who stood deprived of institutional authority, which, until then had informed their dominance across the region"...deprived of the support they had always had from the military caste the Brahmans were no longer in position of power when faced with a political authority, supported by the colonists. Indeed, from this period, the Nambudiries, as a group, withdrew from the political scene and confined themselves within the social space bounded by their double function as land-owners and religious agents."

Several legislations passed, in the meantime, granted more autonomy to Christians as well as intermediate and lower castes in their socio-political and economic spheres of life." These exempted the Christians from the duty of service in the temples and granted them access to employment in the public sector, recognized the freedom of the missionaries to work in the country and donated land and subsidies for the foundation of the mission in Nagercoil and of the seminary in Kottayam". The recruitment to

positions in government and allied services was now based on competence, rather than as in the past, on belonging to a specified caste or family. Though persons from the lower castes were seldom appointed in the administration, the colonialists put high premium on merit-placement which virtually removed the traditional elites such as Kshatriyas and the Nambutiris from the scene. Apart from the ambitious Tamil-Telugu Brahmanas, Nayars as well as Christians came to hold a perceptible edge over the other castes in getting access to government jobs in Tiruvitamkur. In addition to the opposition between the traditional dominant castes and the powers that be, fresh conflicts also arose particularly due to the forcible introduction of land-tax by the colonial agent.

The agrestic serfs or salves-castes, who never possessed any citizenship rights whatsoever were finally declared free citizens 1855 by Tiruvitamkur and Kochi states. In 1802, the lower castes were granted permission to wear jewellery. From 1815 onwards British judicial protection was made available to all citizens though only in 1816, it became effective when Kariakkars (Nayars, local officials and former village headmen) in 1816 lost their power as chiefs and justices and had their function reduced to that of tax collectors.

Of course, slave trade had been banned in Malabar by the East India Company as early as in 1792, penalties were imposed for slave-dealing in the Indian Penal Code only in 1862. The actual living conditions of the lowest castes however could be improved only in the 20th century with the protest, based to a class-based social ensemble in Kerala. Though, a tiny section of the Pulayas, were educated in the mission schools and some of them were also converted to Christianity, their material and social milieus hardly

changed. Getting access to public roads and other civic amenities including schooling was the initial objective of the pulaya movement in Tiruvitamkur. A school opened by the pulayas at Venganoor was destroyed by caste Hindus: in protest, Pulaya leader Ayyankali gave a call for a boycott of agricultural work in the fields of upper caste Hindus. In 1893, Ayyankali staged a protest by travelling in a bullock cart along a public road. In 1898, a group of pulayas led by Ayyankali walked along a public road, leading to clashes between Pulayas and Caste Hindus. The struggle of the pulayas for access to roads and schools led to Pulaya riots at the turn of the century in Cape Comorin, Neyyattinkara and Vikom and these riots were suppressed by the government. The struggle for education led by Pulaya leaders, Ayyankali and Vallikara Choti led the Tiruvitamkur Government to grant Pulayas the right of education in government schools in Balamapuram and Pullattu in 1914. Following this, riots broke out in both these places between the Pulayas and the Upper caste; in Pullattu, the Nayers went to extent of burning a school where Pulaya children were admitted.”

In the meantime, the colonial agent mediated a series of structural changes in the economy of Kerala in the 19th century. They culminated in the Pattom proclamation of 1865 which granted possession of the land, with the right of devolution and sale, to all tenants in Tiruvitamkur. This considerably benefited the intermediate castes whose social ascendancy in the ensuing decades had been remarkable. More fundamentally a transition from a caste based society to a class-based society also occurred wherein mercantile institutions developed at a faster pace. In Malabar, however, the conditions of the peasantry worsened.

2.3 IDEOLOGY, LAND CONTROL AND COLONIAL CASTE STRUCTURE

Recent researches on caste have highlighted the fundamental variations in regional caste structure in India while at the same time not denying the significance of certain pan-Indian communities. Thus outside northern and central India, there was a pronounced disjunction between the configuration of actual local or *jati* hierarchies and the abstract Varna scheme used across regions to order proliferous sub-castes and castes. The first three *Varna*'s, at the all-India level, had relatively smaller demographic size, viz, Brahman's constituting 6.4%, Kshatriyas 3.7% and Vishay's 2.7% of the Hindu population in India. Their demographic distribution across regions was greatly uneven. While northern and central India had a relatively higher concentration of these twice-born castes, South India reported only a marginal presence of these castes. For instance, according to 1931 census, Brahmins in U.P constituted 9% of the state population which alone amounted to 40% of the total Brahman population in India. Brahmins, Kshatriyas Vishay's together formed nearly 19% of the U.P population. In Bihar the twice-born castes constituted 12% of the state population.

"The Varna divide between the twice-born castes and Shudras in the Hindi hearth land has historically demarcated the rigid social hierarchy in which lower castes were deprived education, denied social dignity and confined to the manual work of cultivation or to other low status artisan or service occupations. Untouchables, by definition, performed polluting tasks and, in addition, worked in the fields, commonly under

conditions of bonded labor. All though Raja puts (Kshatriyas) rather than Brahmans exercised the greatest power as land-controllers, Brahminical ideology played the most important role in legitimizing the status and occupational hierarch and establishing the model for social emulation. High status groups (including Ashraf Muslims) did not personally engage in cultivating the land or in any sort of manual work which was left to jaties of Shudras Varna and the untouchables.”

The caste structure of colonial Kerala stood in sharp contrast to this North Indian scenario. The Varna structure had apparently very little to do with the social strata which partook of power and wealth in colonial Kerala. The indigenous Malayalee Brahmans including Nambudiries formed a mere 0.5% while the foreign Brahmans constituted another 1.2% meanwhile, in the rest of South India. Brahmans constituted 3-4%.Of course, the Brahmans occupied the upper echelons of ritual hierarchy; nevertheless their distribution in the state was extremely uneven. And as Frankel has noted about the rest of South India, they owned substantial landed properties only in a few localities. With the total absence of indigenous Vishay’s and a very marginal Kshatriyas presence, the traditional trading and commercial functions were by and large the preserve of the intermediate castes if Eaves. Christians and Muslims. The populous matrilineal caste of Nayars along with Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Samantha’s constituted the major land-controlling group of pre-colonial and early colonial Kerala. Frankel points out that Brahmans in South India had by and large, conceded higher social status to clean Shudras whose economic and political supremacy was built on land-control, territory and force.” They closed their eyes to doubtful claims of warrior groups to Kshatriyas rank and in performing rituals of them legitimized their power. Conversely warrior groups of

questionable social origin, who claimed the right to command accepted at least symbolic ritual subordination by making generous gifts of income from land to Brahmana dominated “Brahmadeya” villages and “Matha” and for the construction and maintenance temples associated with the devotional “Bakti” cults. The most distinctive feature of the social order in South India from the medieval period was alliance between Brahmans in the localities and ‘respectable’ cultivating groups.”

Even in the late medieval Kerala, the Nayar-Nambutiri alliances seemed to have reflected this ideological and structural ambivalence in more conspicuous forms. While the Brahminical perceptions of Shudras rank had ostensibly informed the defilement customs vis-à-vis Nayars, the military, political and economic dominance of the matrilineal castes seemed to have extenuated even intimate marital ties between their women and Brahman husbands. Thus economic and power hierarchies seemed to most blatantly determine social practices and rules including those in relation to caste and marriage. The political and economic supremacy of the Stamatas and Nayars in pre-colonial and colonial Kerala, like that of the sat-Sudras such as Vellas, Reddis, Kapus and Vokkalingas elsewhere in South India not only earned them an elevated status but also granted them privileged participation in local and temple administration. Recent studies of Brahminical institutions of Medieval Kerala such as *Vanjeri Grandhavari* have clearly brought out the dependent and variable character Nambutiri sanketams (Brahman-administrated territories of medieval Kerala consisting of several villages organized around a Brahman temple). Most historical writings had, until recently, treated these sanketams as independent republics of medieval Kerala free from the control of neighboring chieftains and kings from outside. *Vanjeri Grandhavari* has conclusively

shown that the nambutiri-administered sanketams depended on the neighboring chieftains for every thing from the constitution of their yogam to maintain law and order in areas under their jurisdiction. The chieftain appointed Nayars for policing within the sanketham were technically self-governing units but really very much subservient to the neighboring chiefs like any feudal vassal. Moreover, they were quite helpless in implementing law and order due to the absence of a private militia for their own use.

There have also been several other instances in late pre-colonial Kerala where, sanketams were attacked and their landed and other properties appropriated by Kshatriyas or Samantha chieftains. The cases of Panniyur and Thrissur Vadakkunathan temples and their Brahman proprietors whose properties were virtually taken over by the Samutiri Raja and Kochi Raja respectively are remarkable since, in both cases, the Nambudiries involved in the power-struggle were even demoted in their caste status. Until the 20th century reform movement, these two Brahman groups had been consistently victimized and stigmatized by the Nambudiries of other sanketams as well as the rest of Kerala castes naturally due to their economic and political dependence on the chieftains of Kozhikode and Kochi.

2.4 DEFILEMENT PRACTICES AND SAVERNA DOMINANCE

Caste in colonial had been marked by a set of defilement practices which had an unusually intense visibility. There had been a remarkable degree of separation of social spaces between the savarna and avarna castes as a consequence. Defilement practices consisting of untouchability, inapproachability and even unseeability apparently were influenced by the notion of hierarchy, though in actual practices were mediated by brute

power wielded by the savarna castes. However it seems that in urban space of colonial Kerala, Were the savarna castes were seldom active in trade and commerce, caste rules, in relation to distance pollution were frequently violated. Notions and practices concerning pollution had been widely prevalent even among the marginal groups such as tribal and fishing communities. It has been suggested that such practices may not have evolved out of Brahminical persuasion and these primordial groups are asserting their consanguinal identities (lineage,clan,etc) by separating themselves from 'others' through such symbolic gestures. All the same, the savarna–avarna divide mediated by socioeconomic and political inequalities may have hardened and dehumanized their relationships to one another. It is also interesting that the system of continuous habitation and dispersed rural settlement might have indirectly facilitated the practice of distance pollution in Kerala. Thus in most other parts of in India where nucleated settlements prevail, distance pollution, even from the upper caste view of things, is somewhat unpractical and inconvenient. The fact that potable water is available almost every where in Kerala may have made the lives of the subordinate castes a little bit more tolerable than those of their caste –fellows elsewhere in India. Thus in Northern India the lives of most Harijans were so unbearable since the upper castes virtually monopolized the water-sources as they do even today.

For the savarna castes, the presence of Christians and Muslims in large numbers may have eased their dependence on the avarna labor which facilitated the practices of distance pollution. Ezhavas and Pulayas had their own religious and cult centers which had been deeply rooted in their popular culture. Thus the awareness of caste oppression become intents only when Ezhavas and Pulayas were able to break with their traditional

ties as the colonial capitalism penetrated inexorably into stagnant agrarian Kerala. Emergence of the Ezhava and Pulaya movements; thus preceded by a variety of historical antecedents. The contradiction between the traditional order mediated by distance pollution and a new economic order based on monetization and commodity production could no longer be contained. Even the identity and self respect which the avarna castes were in search of are to be located in this struggle between contending socio-economic groups.

2.5 CASTE AND THE CHANGES IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF COLONIAL KERALA

Occupational structure of Kerala underwent significant changes during the colonial period. Unlike most other parts of India, Kerala witnessed a pronounced shift both in its economy and the structure of the work force away from agriculture to processing industries which, by and large, created to foreign markets. Of course the whole transformation has to be viewed as part of the colonizers project of augmenting profit through system of trade, public work and spoliation in India. Undoubtedly, this process unleashed forces of capitalist production which affected various regions unevenly, leading to widespread underdevelopment, pauperization and prolitarianization in the sub-continent. The natural resources base of Kerala economy has been more diversified than those of other regions, thus contributing relatively more intense prolitarianization of the state. Thus the processing industries and plantations, which were basically labor intensive, not only employed vast sections of rural population but also opened up fresh economic opportunities to them.

Interestingly, the three other states, namely West Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu Where a perceptible shift from agriculture did occur, had respectively, the three metropolises of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as nodal points for the development of the regions. Of course, all these states, like Kerala also had extentended coastal tracts with sea-ports which were well-connected with the hinterlands. Further, Kerala's towns and villages were sandwiched by a host of rivers, backwaters, lagoons and canals, which together formed an extensive inland water system and which, along with the sprawling beaches, fostered trade, transport and a flourishing fishing industry. Kerala also had a long tradition of foreign contact and commercial growth and the development of the rail and road system of transport from the latter half of the 19th century promoted the expansion of non-agricultural sectors of its economy.

Thus in 1901, nearly half of Kerala's work force engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. During 19th century, the British agent first intervened in the Kerala economy by extracting its economic surplus in at least three different modes: taxes, land revenue and the monopoly purchase of primary products at abysmally low prices. In the next stage, towards the final decades of the 19th century, the Kerala economy was opened up for railways, plantations, coir, tile industries, etc. However a substantial working class evolved from these changes only towards the beginning of the 20th century. This was possible thanks to the diversified resources base of the state that catered to a variety of agro-processing and manufacturing projects. All this was of course mediated by a burgeoning colonial capitalism which, however, also led to uneven development of the three politico-administrative units, viz., Tiruvitamkur, Kochi and Malabar. For instance, while the colonial agent promoted progressive land reforms in Tiruvitamkur, no such

favor was grudged to the peasantry in Malabar whose condition steadily worsened over the decades. Thus cultivators in Tiruvitamkur came to constitute two third of the agricultural work force at turn of the present century whereas tenants and landless laborers far out-numbered the cultivators in Malabar who formed a mere 5%. Consequently, Tiruvitamkur and then Kochi got off to a good start on the path of capitalist development leading to the widespread release of productive forces from the feudal, caste-based agrarian structure which still underpinned Malabar for a few more decades. All the same, through out Kerala capitalist relations of production seems to have radically revised the manufacturing, agro-processing and even agricultural sectors which become monetized and commercialized catering even to foreign markets.

2.6 STRUCTURAL MARGINALITY AND MOBILITY OF INTERMEDIATE CASTES / COMMUNITIES

The 19th century thus constituted a historical conjuncture wherein colonial interventions as well as indigenous developments radically transformed the polity, economy and society of Kerala .In the pr-British society, savarna caste had dominated by appropriating the agricultural surplus produced by the avarna castes who had remained marginalized as a result. Thanks to the colonial interventions, an articulate though embryonic middle class seems to have emerged, particularly from the populous intermediate caste of Ezhavas as well as the non-Hindu communities of Christians and Muslims who were socially equivalent to the intermediate castes. By late 19th century, all these three communities came to exhibit a pronounced degree of occupational diversification, though it is possible that a sizable minority among them have been

engaged in trade, transport and other professions, apart from agriculture even in late pre-colonial Kerala.

The sharp and discerning dynamism evinced by Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims was possibly anticipated by their intermediate status and structural position which promoted both their occupational diversification and entrepreneurial ventures during the late colonial period. Towards the end of 19th century, the intermediate castes found themselves in a social position with all the attributes of what Bruce Kapfer has called structural marginality. A section of population is said to be in a position of structural marginality when it is routinely and systematically exposed to contradictory processes. As with liminal periods in rituals, population locate in a structurally marginal situation have the capacity to generate new organizational and structural forms that override or remove the fundamental contradictions that become manifest in the situation. However Kapfer also suggests that this capacity may not always crystallize in all the instances.

Thus Ezhavas with 22% of the state population consisted of vast sections of under classes, who had formed the bulk of the emerging wage laborers in the rural and agro-processing industries. An enterprising middle class had also developed from among those intermediate communities who ventured into new economic arenas as contractors, commission agents, cash crop farmers, traders and entrepreneurs apart from gradually entering the educated, professional classes both inside and outside the state. From mid 19th century, Ezhavas gradually started acquiring land rights. The money for the same could be raised from the more prosperous traditional occupations, such as coir-making, coconut trade, toddy and arrack trade, artisanal occupation, various handicrafts, head load

work, etc.

“The traditional occupation of toddy tapping could absorb only a minority of the castes members (ranging from 3 to 16 percent of the workers)but the associated occupation based on coconut formed the basis of this diversification. Being socially less dependent on the high castes, their occupational mobility, though horizontal, was perhaps the highest. More than half of them were in the category of wage labor. The ability of Ezhavas to free themselves of their traditional dependence on landlords and enter industrial employment could be seen as due to their traditional occupation based on the coconut”.

Table 2.1: Caste/communities Distribution of workers in various occupations in Kerala, 1968

CASTE	T.P.A	T.R	F.R	CR	S.T.C	A.G&A	UL	T.E
Nayars	26.5	11.0	23.2	7.4	19.2	7.3	7.8	13.2
Christians	25.1	18.1	25.6	15.3	13.6	12.2	16.6	17.1
Ezhavas	17.9	19.3	16.6	31.0	21.0	26.1	26.4	23.5
Muslims	10.0	36.5	17.7	11.0	17.4	15.4	20.6	16.8
SC&ST	3.6	2.3	6.0	9.0	10.4	29.3	15.5	15.3
Others	16.9	12.8	10.9	26.3	18.4	9.7	13.1	14.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: T.P.A. –Technical, Professional and Administrative, T.R –Trade, F.R-Farming, C.R-Crafts, S.T.C-Service, Transport & Communication, A.G&A –Agriculture and Allied Labor, U.L-Unskilled, T.E -Total Earners.(Sources: Shivandan.P, EPW1979-February, p.475).

Thus the remarkably successful articulation of the bourgeois interest by substantial sectors of the economy with covert and overt support from the colonial agent and Euro-missionaries had gone a long way in gaining them the highest stratum in the social ensemble of Kerala. The mobilization of Christians had certain novel features which were later adopted by the Nayar and Ezhava movements. The upward mobility of Syrian Roman Catholics was considerably fostered by the founding of schools and colleges, among other things. This was possible thanks to the efficient resource-mobilization at the parish and church levels "But when establish educational institutions become a norm of society, the resources for them were raised through voluntary contributions from a large number of poor families, monthly subscription from households, both in cash and kind, helped each parish to start a school. In poor families, housewives were asked to save a handful of rice a day (and) this was five percent of the consumption of a poor family".

Nayar and Ezhava movements adopted these found-rising strategies with consummate skill and founded a chain of educational institutions in the state. Unlike Nayers, the Ezhavas like Christians and Muslims entered the new economic enterprises and productive work and thus depended less heavily on white collar and government jobs. However it is interesting to note that the 'Weberian' Protestant ethic pervaded almost all Christian sects including the Roman Catholics, not to speak of the non-Christian groups such as Ezhavas, and Muslims in colonial Kerala.

The structural marginality of the intermediate castes, thus, was primarily reflected in their relative independence which meant that they were not severely curbed by any

traditional ties. The positive support the Christians received, under colonial dispensation, in their mobility efforts, along with their natural advantages-being never burdened by a hereditary occupation under savarna patronage-went a long way in gaining them the highest stratum of Kerala in the post-independence decades. The indigenous Christians had been marked by a positive outlook and dynamism even in the past. They moved into agriculture rather late (17th or 18th century) until which date they had constituted the commercial and trading sections of the state and with considerable ease they shifted themselves from agriculture to non-agricultural pursuits in late colonial period. The pooling effect of caste-based economic networks (charitable-locality organizations seems to have mediated resource –mobilization through chit funds, etc.) also promoted several new ventures from starting of schools and colleges to entering public service apart from taking to industries, trade and commercial cultivation.

Muslims too were traditionally identified with trading professions, though “most of them were pauperized group, especially in Malabar, and they engaged mainly in petty trading, wage labour and small scale cultivation”. After their almost suicidal, nevertheless heroic confrontations with the colonial state and savarna landlordism in Malabar, large section of the Muslim cultivating class had regressed into a religious fundamentalism and social isolation which seemed to have severely hampered their educational and social advancement in colonial Kerala. All the same, sections of Muslims had successfully co-opted themselves into the emerging middle classes of colonial Kerala finding their own niche in commercial, trading and agro-processing sectors of the economy.

2.7 THE MAKING OF THE COLONIAL SALARIAT: SAVERNA CASTES

In the 19th century an articulate class or social group had come into existence as a result of colonial transformation all over the subcontinent. Hamza Alavi called this class 'salarial' which consist of those who had received modern education that equipped them for employment in the state apparatus at various levels, as scribes and functionaries. The salariat was an auxiliary class whose class role was closely enmeshed with the destinies of the fundamental classes (indigenous and foreign capitalists and the land-owning classes on the one hand and subordinate classes, namely the working classes and the peasantry on the other). The material interests of the colonial salariat had underpinned the emerging politicization of caste and ethnic (religious) groups in the subcontinent. This was presumably because the salariat loomed large in societies in which the production base and the bulk of the population were mainly rural and agricultural. Moreover in such societies, the educated urban population looked primarily to the government for employment and advancement. Alavi thus included in salariat, not only those who were in white collar employment, notably in the state apparatus, but also those who aspired after such jobs and sought to acquire the requisite credentials.

The colonial salariat of Kerala was undoubtedly dominated by the savarna castes from its very inception." A more important factor was the manner in which the member of the upper castes, particularly the Nayars were able to make use of the employment opportunities afforded by the British administration. Already well-versed in traditional knowledge, the Nayars were the first to take to western education, which gave them an advantage over others in government employment." " The overwhelming majority of the

1000 graduates, undergraduates and matriculates in the Malabar district at the end of 19th century came from upper caste Hindus.”

Table 2.2: Division of Middle and Higher Administrative Posts According to Caste (1891) in Tiruvitamkur

Nayars	1,575
Foreign Brahmans	1,000
Non Brahman Foreign Hindus	444
Latin Christians	196
Syrian Christians	76
Nambutiris	75
Ezhavas	

Source: (Lemercinier: 222)

The emergence of a centralized state in Tiruvitamkur under Marthandavarma during the first half of the 18th century also marked the arrival of foreign Brahmans (mostly Tamil Brahmans) in the soc-political milieu of the region, as the pre-eminent segment of the administrative elite. Naturally such a development was juxtaposed with a perceptible decline in the fortunes of the Nayar elite whose loyalty to the successive rulers of Tiruvitamkur become somewhat suspect because of their alleged support to the erstwhile petty kings and chieftains who had been overthrown by Marthandavarman's 'unification' campaigns. With the arrival of Rmayyan Dalawa on the scene, Tamil Brahmans entered the administration of Tiruvitamkur in large numbers and took deeper roots in the ensuing decades. It is possible that the foreign Brahmans who had been marginal to the caste-based political life of the region were found eminently suitable for such co-option by the Tiruvitamkur rulers largely because they could be realized on for

critical support; thus retaining a delicately balanced administrative elite. By the end of the 19th century, 'foreign Brahmanas and Nayars and come to share the bureaucratic and administrative positions virtually among themselves, Indeed this led to a repote in the relationships between the castes due to the intense competition for entry into government service. The Malayali Memmorial of 1891 was possibly the culmination of such a state of affair wherein the prominent Nayar citizens along with other castes of Tiruvitamkur such as Nambutiris, Ambalavasis, Ezhavas, Christians, etc. represented to the King of Tiruvitamkur against the foreign Brahmanas domination in government services which, they allege, hurt the interests of the indigenous communities.

While in almost every other Indian state the indigenous Brahmanas took to the new avenues of occupation through modern education and placement in the professions and government services, Nambutiri Brahmanas of Kerala (a minuscule 0.5% of the population) surprisingly remained virtually a loaf from all this. While Brahmanas elsewhere with demographic size above 3% generally moved to urban centers even in the rest of South India, Nambutiris remained stuck to their rural outposts shunning modern education and secular advancement, Traditionally, Nambutiris had shied away from agricultural, industrial and commercial activities, engaging themselves in certain type of priestly and intellectual work. Most of them were absentee landowners modern occupations, Nambutiris were in economic decline during the colonial period .Since they had not traditionally been employed in government and professions, they tended to be at a disadvantage when they began to qualify for such jobs.

While sections of Nayars joined the colonial salariat, the majority of them

pursued the traditional occupation of agriculture as peasants, non-cultivating tenants and as agricultural workers. They also entered a variety of occupations termed 'floating', industrial, miscellaneous .Meanwhile the artisan castes had faced a contradictory situation; while carpenters, etc, retained their hereditary function, most others including weavers and blacksmiths suffered pauperization. Harijans, the lowest and the poorest of all castes, continued as agricultural laborers dominated and oppressed in varying degrees by all other castes. Though the pulayas attempted to break with their past, both through conversions to Christianity and Islam and through protest reform movements, their mobility efforts were only partially successful because of a host of structural constraints. Conversion to Christianity, for instance, did improve their living conditions at least marginally, though their subservience to the missionaries-as well as to the higher castes in the case of those who did not undergo prositilization- in their existential struggles hindered their advancement. All the same, conversions did have an emancipator role, by which they could escape oppression from the savarna and the intermediate castes. Of course, the abolition of slavery in mid 19th century by the colonial state was perhaps the first step towards the release of these agrestic slaves from the clutches of savarna landlordism. The lack of development of the labor market and the hold of traditional ties which confined these castes to the servile occupations in the paddy fields may have also thwarted their mobility efforts. The absence of technological innovations such as diesel pumps and other technological inputs also impeded the development of the Pulayas, etc as casualized labor. Even in education, only a section of the Pulayas could take advantage of the free schools for the lowest castes in Tiruvitamkur apart from the missionary schools.” The activities of the Pulayas met with opposition from the Nayars, which was

only to be expected, but also from the Ezhavas who had themselves acquired middle class status". The conditions of the Parayas were similar to those of the Pulayas, though the former also were socially discriminated and isolated by the later, due to their supposed ritual inferiority vis-à-vis the Pulayas. The fishing castes too were converted in large numbers to Christianity and Islam. The modernization of fishing industry and the emancipation movement of fishermen had only a slow start during the first decades of the 20th century. As a consequence, fishermen remained tied to their traditional calling and were, by and large, exploited by various intermediary interests in the emerging fishing industry and trade.

The penetration of colonial capitalism and the absence of progressive land policy at least in Malabar had calamitous effect on most castes and classes in the region. The diversified occupational structure benefited the intermediate groups more than the savarna castes who suffered from 'primordial 'hang-ups. The lowest castes generally fared badly being tied to the least developed economies of paddy cultivation and fishing. At the same time, widespread pauperization characterized large sections of all the four major castes, viz., Nayars, Ezhavas, Muslims and Christians, though Nayars and Christians together with foreign Brahmans constituted the emerging colonial salariat.

2.8 CASTE AND CLASS : CHANGING PROFILES

The trends of democratization and secularization of the society in Kerala in the late colonial period were thus anticipated by the socio-economic political and cultural transformations which were briefly reviewed in the for-going pages. All the same, the unique demographic profiles of castes, wherein the four major constituents, namely

Nayars, Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims together formed more than 76% of the state population, also had some interesting fall-out for these emerging tendencies. Thus while each of those four major groupings evinced considerable occupational diversification and class heterogeneity, their sheer demographic size seemed to contribute to contradictory trends-both centrifugal and centripetal-in the succeeding decades of the 20th century. For instance, during the first decades of the century the mobility efforts seemed to unite each of them-as well as the rest of the castes-by intensifying casteist/communal identities and by fusing sub castes or sects. Meanwhile, the caste-based mobilization in the Tamil speaking South India had been limited to the upper and middle castes. In Kerala such mobilization had enveloped even the lowest caste such as Pulayas and fishermen. As in most regions of India, mobility efforts never seemed to involve the popular Tamil Harijan castes such as Pallans, Padiachis and Parayans, though Nadars, an untouchable caste which was almost equivalent to the Ezhavas, rebelled against the dominant Tamil upper castes. The Ezhava Social Reform Movement (ESRM) fought zealously for civic rights, access to schooling and government services which frequently led to violent clashes with Nayars. In Kollam District, for instance, such clashes had seldom been one-sided; if Nayars had beaten up the Ezhavas, Ezhavas retaliated with equal vigor and gave it back to the Nayars in the same coin. This clearly testifies to the emergence of self respect, a sense of independence and a democratic ethos among sections of the subservient Ezhavas who however, had seldom been burdened by a 'client' status that characterized the relations of most other castes vis-à-vis their savarna patrons.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON OBCs

3.1 MUSLIM COMMUNITIES AND THEIR VARIED IDENTITIES

Muslims are the followers of Islam, which advocates for an egalitarian society. In Islamic ideology there is neither a difference of high or low, nor pure and in pure. Islam does not admit inequality on the basis of race, language and other ethnic verities. But the groups that adhere to Islam though commonly designated as 'Muslim community' are in practice not a homogeneous entity. There are both horizontal and vertical divisions among them on the basis of various social distinctions. One of the most important aspect of this inter group differentiation among the Muslims is continuing through ethnic and caste like divisions since historical times. In recent times status group and class like divisions are also conspicuous among the Muslims. There are many occupational groups in Muslim society, which have experienced marginalization and backwardness and their social situation is not much different from OBCs of the country.

The differentiations that emerged among the Muslims at first is between the descendants of the so-called foreign ancestors and the indigenous converts. The former segment is known as Ashraf, while the latter segment is called as Ajlaf. Those who called themselves Ashraf are the gentry and considered themselves as aristocrats. They are the land-owners, civic and religious leaders and comparatively wealthier. The Ashraf constituted the elite section of the Muslim society. They are further sub-divided on the

basis of their ethnicity and place of origin. Among them there are four major ethnic and social categories, viz. Sayyad, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan. The Sayyad and Shaikh are believed to have descended from Arab ancestors. While the Mughal and Pathan are claimed to have descended from Mughal and Afghan conquerors. Ajlaf are the toiling masses and peasants, therefore, could not lay any such claim of noble ancestry. There are innumerable occupational groups among the Ajlaf. There are about 170 Muslim groups in India which are considered to be marginalized socially. Actually the social gradation among the Ajlaf is mostly determined by their past Caste characteristics. At the bottom of the social ladder there are those Muslims who do scavenging, sweeping and such other unclean jobs. They are commonly referred as Arzals. Owing to the impact of the notion of nobility among Ashraf and caste background among Ajlaf and Arzals the segments in Muslim society are generally arranged in stratified order. Although Islam does not recognize caste differentiation among its adherents several categories of Muslims belonging to Ajlaf section have traditionally been treated as low caste in their occupational and in matters of social relations (Ahmed 1973: Ansari 1960: Mandal 1980: Sachar 2005).

In pre-British days Muslims of upper social (Ashraf) strata enjoyed politically dominant position as well as the privileges. Many of them controlled administration, army and land. Some were involved in trade and commerce. The Muslims of lower strata (Ajlaf) retained the traditional occupation. Among them there were peasants, craftsman and serving sections. They were underprivileged and downtrodden. But during British rule the Muslim of both the elite (Ashraf) and non elite (Ajlaf) categories were seriously affected owing to radical changes in economy polity and society of the colonial India.

The socio, economic changes taking place in colonial India rapidly by passed the Muslims for various reasons. Further the middle that emerged in Muslim society at a later phase of colonial era was seriously affected due to partition of the country. Partition created a great vacuum of middle class and that caused a serious set back in development and progress of Muslim society. Although statistically data is not available, it is widely assume that the heaviest migration of Muslims during partition was from upper and middle strata of the society. This left the remaining, Muslim population in India more disadvantaged than before (Mandal-1996).

The socio-economic condition of the Muslims has not changed much in free India. The various reports and research studies clearly show that the Muslims in India are economically, socially and educationally backward. The economic backwardness of the Muslims is cyclical and ongoing process leading to educational and social backwardness and turns to economic backwardness. More over, Muslims are not only backward, but also a minority community of the country. Along with there are many other non-Muslim communities in India, which also suffering from the stigma of backwardness. Disadvantaged sections in India including the Muslims are awakening in recent times and organizing movements for equality and social justice under forward-backward, socio-political set-up of the country (Engineer1991: Government of India 1983: Mandal 1997: GOI 2005).

It is a common knowledge that Muslims constituting 14 percent population of India are not only the largest minority community, but also highly noticeable in the entire length and breath of the country. Muslim of all part of India has contributed

tremendously in the evolution, development and transformation of society, culture and civilization of India. Their role in the freedom struggle of the country is unparalleled. This significant minority community has been reduced to the lowest socio-economic stratum in post-Independent India. They have lagged behind (and are continuously lagging behind day by day) the scheduled castes in many walks of life. They are educationally most backward, economically poor and politically powerless community of the country. More often than not communal violence is organized against them in which innumerable Muslims are maimed and killed, their women are raped and their hard earned property is demolished and looted. They are forced to live in dingy lanes and slums. Constitutional guarantees are dream for those Governmental agencies appear to be indifferent and discriminatory towards them. No political party seems to be sincere for ameliorating their condition and ensuring them safety and security, indeed they have become a colonized community.

Marginalized status of Indian Muslims is not merely confirmed by individual researchers and surveys of voluntary organizations, but also government reports. The high power panel under the chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs in the early 1980 to enquire into the conditions of religious minorities scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled tribes (STs) found that "Muslims and Neo-Buddhists are the most educationally backward communities at the national level" (Report on Minorities, 1983: 3-4). The report also pointed out that their economic condition was worse than that of SCs and STs. They were deprived of benefits of developmental schemes which government launched for ameliorating conditions of poor and marginalized sections of the society. They were under-represented in governmental

services and decision making bodies (Rafiq Zakariya, 1995: 163-166).

No much improvement in the conditions of Muslims has taken place in the last 23 years, i.e. after submission of Dr. Gopal Singh Committee Report. This is evident from the findings of the Prime Minister's High Level Committee under the chairmanship of Justice Rajinder Sachar, constituted to enquire into the socio-economic and educational status of Muslims on 9th March 2005.

India cannot claim to be a 'Just society' or a powerful nation if its largest minority remains deprived, handicapped and marginalized. Hence, there is an urgent need to take meaningful steps for upliftment of Indian Muslims who are living in abject poverty, insecure condition and are under-represented in governmental services, educational institutions and in decision-making bodies.

3.2 OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES: MEANINGS

The term "Backward Classes" has a specific connotation in our country. The Backward classes include Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes. The main underlying assumptions in the concept are; (a) Social and economic handicap, have rooted in social, economic and religious institution, have rendered certain groups of our society severely disadvantaged, They have been systematically denied opportunities to participate in the socio-economic and religious affairs of society (b) with our commitment to the socialistic and democratic form of social, economic and political order, with emphasis on equality of opportunity, reduction of inequalities and justice for all, the problems of protection and promotion of social and economic mobility at an

accelerated pace of the backward classes deserve special attention in our efforts for socio-economic development.(c) Ameliorative measures adopted for the development of these groups should be compensatory, in that they take into account the loss incurred to these groups as a result of discriminatory practices directed against them, consequently, a number of special provisions have been made in our constitution to safeguard the interests of these groups and to promote speedily their socio-economic mobility. Considerable sums of money have been spent during the last.....five years plans on welfare programmes for these groups.

We say at the outset that under the constitution of India the expression classes of citizens means group of people associated with their religion, race or caste. The said expression is used in Articles 15, 16, 29 (by virtue of clause 4 of Article 15), 338, 340. Articles are produced below for immediate reference.

15 (1) The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

(2) No citizen shall on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to.

(a) Access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, and places of entertainments, or,

(b) The use of wells, tanks, bathing Ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of general public.

(4) Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the state from

making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

16 (1) there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state.

(2) No citizen shall, on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the state.

(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favor of any backward class of citizens, which in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the services under the state.

29 (2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

15 (4) Nothing...in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the state from making any special provision for the advancement any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

340 (1)The president may by order appoint a commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the condition of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labor and to make recommendations' as to this steps that should be taken by the union or the

state to remove such difficulties and to improve their conditions and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the union or any state and the conditions subject to which grants should be made, and the order appointing such commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the commission.

(2) The commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the president a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

(3) The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of parliament.

338 (1) there shall be a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the president.

(2) It shall be the duty of the special officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the president may direct, and the president shall cause all such reports to be laid before each house of parliament.

(3) In this article references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the president may, on receipt of the report of a commission appointed under clause (1) of Article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community.

Part xvi of the constitution, which contains article 330 to 342, intends to make special provisions relating to certain classes. It is common knowledge that India is a land of many castes, tribes, tribal communities, races and many religious communities with their respective sections. "There are some Jews there and many Christians .There are many million of Mohammadans in the land .There are Buddhists, Jains, Kabir panths, Sikhs. There are Brahmasamaj, and the Aryasamaj. There is in the hill country, worshippers of trees, rivers and spirits. In India today there are many religion and religious sects. The followers of Brahmanism still believe in the holiness of the caste. Brahmanism is the only religion in the whole world teaching the belief in the division of people into castes." The religion which best illustrates not only the general line, but also the immense diversity and complexity within that pattern, is Hinduism. Hinduism is prehistoric, and India has been called the 'Cradle of Religion'.

The constitution recognizes the factual existence castes, tribes, races, religious communities and people of peculiar descent. In part xvi each of such groups is termed as class. Census Reports, Gazetteers, anthropologists, social scientists, etc, have described each caste, tribe, racial community or group and religious community as a class. Article 338, 341and 342 authorized the president to specify the factually existing social classes but they do not authorize him to make any new classes. It is accepted that Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes are socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. Indian society consists of other classes also, and of them some are also socially and educationally backward. Scheduled caste and scheduled Tribes were discriminated against for long in social, economic, educational, and political fields, and so they deserve to be protected, and their interest in those fields promoted. They were subjected to all

forms of social injustice and exploitation. There for as one of its fundamental principles of directive policy, the state is enjoined with the duty of ameliorating the condition of Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Art.46). Indian society is not rigidly divided into Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the rest. There are other classes who are similarly subjected to social injustice and exploitation. They also are similarly discriminated against in social, economic and educational fields. The constitution, for them too expect the political safeguards, intends for making special provisions.

The other backward classes referred to in Article 15, 16, and 29 are to be specified by the President under Article 338 (3) on the receipt of the Report of the commission appointed under Art.340. Hence, the expression backward classes should have a uniform meaning through out. Let us first take Art.29 (2). The non-discriminatory grounds in matters of admission to educational institutions of the kind mentioned therein are religion, race, caste or language. Art.15 (4) is an exception also to Art.29 (2) when an expression is to be made to Art.29 (2) in favor of the backward classes the only grounds could be all or any of the non-discriminatory grounds. That is to say, the classes to be favored should be determined on grounds of religion, race, caste or language. The ground of language is a vague and indefinite basis and individuals from such a group overlap indiscriminately. In a recent case the Calcutta High Court in interpreting the meaning of the expression classes of citizens as it occurred in section 153-A of the Indian penal code held that the term 'non-Bengali' cannot be included in the term class. Hence, what remain to be only the grounds of expression under Art.29 (2) read with Art.15 (4) are group of citizen associated with their religion, race or caste. The expression backward classes used in the constitution is, all the places associated with religion, race

or caste. And whenever the said expression is used the common grounds of non-discrimination are religion, race and caste. The backward classes (other than the scheduled castes/Tribes) are to be benefited only under Art. 15, 16 and 29. Grounds common in these Articles are religion, race and caste. The expression commonly used in all these articles as an exception is backward class. Therefore, classes are group of citizens associated with their religion, race or caste. This exposition is in consensus with the fundamental rule of interpretation that if the words of the statute are in themselves precise and unambiguous no more is necessary to expound those words in their natural and ordinary sense, the words themselves in such case best declaring the intention of the legislature. It is very desirable, in all cases, to adhere to the words of an Act of Parliament giving to them that sense which is their natural import in the order in which they are placed.

3.3 THE EMERGENCE OF THE OBCs

The Constitution reference to the term “backward classes” finds places in Articles 15 (4) and 16 (4) where in the state is empowered to give special treatment to certain citizens. Yet unlike the categories of Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) that were distinctly defined, the category “backward classes” remained ambiguous. The term had come into usage during the British period but with a verity of referents and evidently without any clearly specified parameters regarding the inclusion and exclusion of groups clubbed as backwards. In its early usage, the backward classes were an all-encompassing category that would include the underprivileged and the marginalized castes, tribes and communities. The term was used as far as 1880 to describe a set of groups, also called illiterate or indigent classes, entitled to allowances for study in elementary schools.

The imprecision in the definition of the term could be observed even at the time of the framing of the constitution. In the constituent Assembly, multiple interpretations of the term emerged in the articulations of members participating in the debate. Bradley, two distinct usages can be spell out: (1) As an inclusive group of all sections that required preferential treatment. Here the category “Backward Classes” includes the untouchables and the tribes as well. (2) As a stratum higher than the untouchables; but nonetheless depressed. In this case the distinctive term that came into usage, was “other backward classes” in both the usages, however, the point of reference was largely the Hindu social structure. The question of backward groups from among the religious minorities remained absent in the debate until delegates belonging to such groups raised the issue. Thus Mohammad Ismail sahib from Madras sought clarification whether the term extended to “the backward classes of minority communities.”

Article 340 empowers the state to appoint a commission ‘to investigate the condition of socially and educationally backward classes’. At the all India level two such commissions have so far been appointed-Kaka Kalelkar commission and B.P Mandal commissions. The first backward classes commission (Kaka kalelkar commission) submitted its report in 1955. The commission has emphasized that the lower status in the caste hierarchy as the determining factor for backwardness along with other considerations such as educational levels, income levels and representation in public employment. This commission report was the first instance in which certain castes/communities among Muslims (and other religious minorities) were also declared backward and brought within the purview of affirmative action. The second Backward Classes Commission (B.P Mandal commission, 1980) too relied on the caste criterion,

however, the tangible indicators to ascertain a caste or any social group as 'backward' included lower position in the caste hierarchy, lower age at marriage within the group, higher female work participation, higher school drop out rate, inaccessibility to drinking water, lower average value of family assets, higher occurrence of Kacha houses and so on.

The usage of classes instead of caste in constitutional reference to OBCs viz. Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) and 340 (1) had led to many legal wrangles and disputes. However, the courts, like the two backward classes commissions accepted 'caste' as a basis of classification. In Venkattarama Vs state of Madras, the Supreme Court upheld the list of Hindu castes declared as backward by the Madras government. This was further confirmed in Ramakrishna Singh Vs State of Mysore in which the Mysore high court held that class included persons grouped on the basis of their caste. A series of Supreme Court cases have further refined the provision. In Balaji Vs the state of Mysore, the Supreme Court put a ceiling on the total quota for affirmative action at fifty %. It was critical of using the caste criterion, and one of the reasons cited was its inapplicability to non Hindu groups.

In Chitrlekha Vs state of Mysore the court clarified that the (i) 'caste.....may is relevant....in ascertaining.... Social backwardness but (ii) it cannot be the sole or dominant test'. The 'caste basis' was further clarified in 1968 in P.Rajendran Vs state of Madras. The Supreme Court held that 'A caste is also a class of citizens if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward'. This was reaffirmed in U.S.V.Balram Vs state of Andhra Pradesh when the Supreme Court scrapped Andhra Pradesh high court

ruling and allowed the use of caste as a determinant to define backwardness. In the celebrated *Indira Sawhney Vs the union of India* (Mandal case), the 9 judge bench rejected economic criterion as the determinant of backwardness. The court upheld the concept of caste “A caste can be and quite often is a social class in India.” On the question of backward classes among the non Hindus, the court held that they should be identified on the basis of their traditional occupations.

Thus, from an all encompassing category as during British period, backward classes as category has gradually emerged to specifically refer to those caste groups that occupy the middle position in the social hierarchy and lag behind in terms of economic, educational, and other human development indicators.

3.4 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE OBCs

In anthropological and sociological literature the concept of social structure is the key to understanding a society and a nation too. The concept of social structure refers to an arrangement of parts or components of a society, i.e., groups and sub-groups related to one another in some form of unity and social formation.

Indian society is a typical example of unequal and hierarchical arrangement of several groups interdependent on each other. Innumerable communities and castes are placed one above the other and their social ranking is accompanied by privileges as well as disadvantages. Post colonial India attempted to set up a democratic social order based on egalitarian ethos. Its constitutional policies were aimed at offsetting the disabilities faced by historically disadvantaged sections of population characterized as backward

classes. In all they account for about one third of Indian population they are not a homogeneous category, but categorized in to three broad social divisions. Scheduled castes (SC) scheduled tribes (ST) and other backward classes (OBC).

The STs were defined in terms of ecological isolation of the Tribal people, the relative autonomy of their cultural and political system and antiquity of association with their habitual while SCs were defined as victims of disabilities of the Caste system and untouchability prevalent in Hindu society. The list of STs and SCs was drawn up by the Central Government. There was in addition, a commissioner for SCs and STs to look after the affairs of these communities on continuing basis. But in regard to OBCs we do not have very clear idea about its categorization. As part of nation building process various compensatory discrimination policies in India are directed to SCs, STs and OBCs. One form of these policies is the reservation, consisting of reserved seats in Educational institutions, government jobs and legislative bodies.

3.5 RELEVANCE OF RESERVATION FOR OBC

Indian society is premised on inequality because of the age old caste system between the upper caste and outcaste (the SC and ST) hundreds of other caste is condemned to educational, cultural, social and economic backwardness. Any discussion on the caste system reveals its links with the economic life. The OBCs (other backward classes) had no right to education and could only practice occupational skills. As a result they ranked way below the upper caste in the economic ladder.

Democracy cannot become meaning full to all the citizens of our land as long as we accept, from their birth, some people as pure or high and others as backward or low. In the name of caste and by using religion, the upper caste have committed wrongs and continued to perpetuate injustice on the OBCs, Dalits and Minorities. We, therefore, need a mechanism to intervene on behalf of the discriminated and bring them equality and justice. There cannot be social democracy without proper representation. To correct the wrongs to done to social groups in the name of caste and religion, the constitution of India introduce Article 15 and 16. Article 15(4) permits the State to make any special provision for advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. While Article 16(4) permits the state to make any provision for the reservation of appointments or post in favor of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in the service under the state (Ambrose Pinto 2008).

3.6 THE RATIONAL FOR OBC RESERVATION

There has not been much opposition to the reservation system for the SCs and STs, though the implementation is sluggish. Even 60 years after independence, the position of SCs and STs has not greatly improved. This is partly due to the caste mind set of our bureaucrats, administrators and officials. If the country had drown a large number of bureaucrats from the weaker sections in 1947, things might have been different as far as the OBCs is concerned their situation has further deteriorated since independence. This has not been sufficiently highlighted in the public space. And yet, because of political

reasons, reservations for the OBCs arouse much more oppression than for the SCs and STs.

Any talk of reservation for the backward classes or the socially and educationally backwards rises immediate social conflict. We have seen in across the state and country for instance, very time the government of Karnataka decided to implement the report of the backward classes commissions, the state has experienced violence at national level, it was the government order to implementation of the Mandal commission that created bloodshed, burning and violence across the country in 1990. Lastly, in May 2006, protests are mounting against an OBC quota in institutions of higher learning. The opposition is mainly from upper castes. This kind of protest and violence, in spite of the preamble of the constitution that assures to all citizens social, economic and political justice, is anti-national. Given the principles of social justice and the nature of our constitution, it is the responsibility of the upper classes to part with some of their privileges and thus contribute to the emergence of an egalitarian society. We already mentioned the contents of Article-15 (4) and Article 16 (4). Articles from 38 to 46 emphasize the obligation of the state to the weaker sections of the people, to prevent their exploitation and to eliminate various forms of inequality and justice. The reality presented in Table 2 is tragic, to say the least. In class 1 services, there was a better distribution of jobs among different social groups during the colonial period in 1935 than after independence in 1989. While the 69 percent of SCs, STs and OBCs had a mere 8 percent of the jobs in 1989, the 5.20 percent of Brahmins had pocketed as much as 70.2 percent. Once get the impression that the state is more and more Brahminised. The other caste seems unable to challenge the hegemony of the priestly caste, which gaining a

greater holds on society. There is no meaning in social justice and democracy when the privileged few pocket all the resources and jobs under the pretext of merit and efficiency. This situation cannot be permitted to go on.

Table 3.1: Communities in Class 1 Government Services in 1935-1989 %

Communities	1935		1989	
	Population in %	sharing services	population in %	sharing services
Kasyasth	0.85	40.00	1.03	7.00
Muslims	21.00	35.00	10.13	3.20
Christians	4.00	15.00	2.08	1.00
Brahmins	3.50	3.00	5.20	70.20
Rajput	2.50	2.00	3.80	1.70
Bania	1.20	1.00	1.78	3.50
Sikh	1.40	1.60	1.60	1.90
Other	1.60	0.90	5.50	2.50
SCs,STs,OBCs	64.00	1.0	68.85	8.00

(Sources: Varma,p.s; Dalit peeda, Vimukt jati trading pvt .Ltd,Delhi-1992. The 1935 data refer to the then United India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).

3.7 BACKWARDNESS AND EMPOWERMENT

For the sake of empowerment and equality some states have proposed or implemented reservation for Muslims as a backward community while some states implemented reservations for Muslim OBCs only. The Muslims those specified as backward are usually the occupational groups of traditional Ajlaf or Arzal category such

as weaver's oil crushers, cotton crushers, carpenters, washer man, barber and so on. The situation of such a complex and contradictory nature leads to arguments and counter arguments between political leaders and social activists of the Muslims. The issue of Muslim empowerment is debatable owing to factions within the Muslims of the country. The overlapping identities of the Muslims in the form of caste like or class like categories further make the situation more complicated.

For the sake of achieving equality and as a part of the process of nation building various compensatory policies are directed at the backward communities in India, viz. SCs STs and OBCs. Some Muslim groups also currently benefited from such affirmative actions as they are included in STs and OBCs. Muslim groups are not supposed to be included in the SCs category as it is restricted to Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists. There is constitutional support for special policies for SCs, STs, and OBCs. Scheduled Caste can be Muslims but Muslim STs are relatively few in India, while SCs cannot be Muslims. Thus only the category of OBCs seems to be open to Muslims. Under such a socio-politico-administrative set up the question of Muslim reservation and affirmative action is a sensitive and debatable one.

Some organizations are arguing for Muslims as a whole to be declared as backwards. Thus demanding reservations for them while Muslim groups already categorized or under the process of categorization under OBCs are seriously opposing these demands (Jenkins 2000).

3.8 RECOMENDATIONS OF VARIOUS BACKWARD CLASSES

COMMISSIONS/COMMITTEES REPORTS

At the all India level, the issue of OBCs has been attempted to be addressed by instituting two backward classes' commissions with the mandate to evolve the criteria of backwardness, identify social groups on that basis and suggest measures to ameliorate their condition. Of the two the report of first commission (Kaka kalelkar) was rejected by the union government from having used caste and not the economic criterion for identifying backward classes. The report of the second commission (Mandal commission) was partially implemented in 1991 more than a decade after it was submitted. Beside these two attempt at the center, various state governments instituted their own backward classes commission and have evolved distinct approach to reservation of backward classes.

Identification of caste/communities as the OBCs and their listing had a long history. After 1806, listing in the colonial period was undertaken on an extensive scale on the basis of administrative reports and assessments. This process gathered momentum through the census from 1891 to 1931. In the post Independence period, the Kalelkar Commission was first to asked indicate criteria for identification as also to recommend communities to be listed as the OBCs.

The government of India then advised the state governments to prepare their own OBCs lists. Various state governments set up committees/commission to identify the OBC lists and despite legitimizing mechanisms of the communities / commissions, the exercise

of listing and extent of reservation for different groups of communities remained a constant juridical issue before the higher judiciary in India. The Government of India then appointed a second Backward Classes Commission (Mandal Commission) for providing identification criteria and names of the communities to be listed as the OBCs. The report submitted in 1980, remained under processing for over a decade until the V.P. Singh Government issued its order of 13 August, 1990, which was challenged before the supreme Court by Indra Sawhney and others. A nine member Constitutional Bench arbitrated 14 major questions arising there from and give its historic judgment on 16 November 1992. Among other things, this judgment also directed constitution of a permanent mechanism for identification of the OBCs at the national level as well as in the State/Union Territories, although it left actual scheduling in the hands of central and state governments. These permanent mechanisms have been active since 1992 and identification of the OBCs has been handled through these routes since then.

The term OBCs did not figure in the Indian Constitution though the debate of the Constituent Assembly had indicated that this was a group which needed special treatment and it was a stratum higher than the Scheduled Caste in social hierarchy. It was also indicated that these OBCs were to be locally designated meaning that there was realization of difficulties in prescribing universally acceptable tests of backwardness given the diverse local social-economic and cultural conditions in different parts of the country.

Before the Constitution came into operation, several states had not only declared OBC lists and offered several benefits, they had also expanded such lists to include many

more communities. The Government of India too was persuaded to extend its scheme of post metric scholarships to the OBCs and while doing so, it compiled its own list.

Different approaches in fixing up the criteria for identification of OBCs by different commissions reflect the absence of uniform basis of backwardness. The two central Commissions had different outlooks while state Government Commission had other outlooks having different considerations. Wide differences between these Commissions on various issues, in some cases even irrational, have not only expressed absence of uniform policy, but also became a source of constant bitterness. Some people though better off enjoy privileges of backwardness in various states and the Central Government services. Others, who really deserve privileges, suffer because they belong to castes outside the jurisdiction of backward class. The situation calls for an analysis of different commissions constituted by various state Governments, including the existing situation and approaches towards the reservation policy for OBCs.

3.8.1 KAKA KALELKAR COMMISSION (1955)

The first backward classes commission submitted its report in 1955. The report presented a list of 2399 castes and communities considered backward, 837 of these were considered 'most backward' requiring special attention. Thus the category was classes further bifurcated into two categories the backward and most backwards. The list includes not only backward groups from amongst the Hindu, but also non-Hindus, including Muslims as well. The commission report was the first instance wherein the presence of 'backward communities' among Muslims (and other religious minorities) received recognition in official parlance. The caste basis did not find approval from the

chairperson of the commission and one of the reason cited was the assumed caste lessness of Muslims and Christians: My eyes were however open to the dangers of suggesting remedies on the caste basis when I discovered that it is going to have a most unhealthy effect on the Muslim and Christian sections of the nation”.

3.8.2 MANDAL COMMISSION (1980)

The second All India Backward classes’ commission, the Mandal commission, submitted its report in 1980. The commission evolved eleven indicators mix of caste and class features for assessing social and educational backwardness. The commission saw castes as the ‘building bricks of Hindu social structure’ that despite the constitutional commitment to establish a casteless and egalitarian society had continued to persist. It arrived at an exhaustive list of 3743 castes that were declared as backward. The commission, in principle, accepted that occurrence of caste or caste like feature was not restricted to the Hindu society, its influence was also found among non-Hindu groups, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, as well. Based on the data provided by 1931 census and failed survey conducted at the instance of the commission, at least 82 different social groups among Muslims were declared OBCs. The commission however desisted from employing ‘caste’ as criterion of identify non Hindu OBCs as ‘these religions are (were) totally egalitarian in their outlook’. The commission however, refrained from invoking ‘poverty’ tool as the sole criterion. The ‘rough and ready’ criteria that the commission evolved had two conditions:

- (a) ‘All untouchables’ converted to any non-Hindu religion. In the case of Muslims they are Arzals.

- (b) Such occupational communities which are known by their name of their traditional hereditary occupation and whose Hindu counterparts have been included in the list of Hindu OBCs. Among Muslims, this comprises the Ajlaf category.

By clubbing the Arzals and Ajlafs among Muslims in an all encompassing OBC category, the Mandal commission overlooked the disparity in the nature of deprivation that they faced. Being at the bottom of social hierarchy the Arzals are the worst off and need to be handled separately. It would be most appropriate if they were absorbed in the SC list, or at least in a separate category, most backward classes (MBCs) carved out of the OBCs.

3.8.3 SACHAR COMMITTEE REPORT (March 2005)

On 9th March, the PMO issued the notification on constitution of the High Level Committee under the Chairmanship of Justice Rajender Sachar for preparation of a report on the social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community of India. In its report the committee mentions, while there is considerable variations in the conditions of Muslims across states, the community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development. Mechanism to ensure equity and equality of opportunity to bring about inclusion should be such that diversity is achieved and at the same time the perception of discrimination is eliminated.

National Data Bank (NDB) for generation of relevant data related to different Socio-Religious Communities (SRC) has been created. An autonomous Assessment and

Monitoring Authority (AMA) is needed to evaluate the extent of development benefits which accrue to different SRCs through various programmes. While equity in the implementation of programmes and better participation of the community in the development process would gradually eliminate the perception of discrimination, there is a need to strengthen the legal provision to eliminate such cases. It is imperative that if the minorities have certain perceptions of being aggrieved, all efforts should be made by the state to find a mechanism by which these complaints could be attended to expeditiously.

The Committee recommends that an Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) should be constituted to look into the grievances of the deprived groups. A carefully conceived 'nomination' procedure should be worked out to increase inclusiveness in governance. The Committee recommends the elimination of the anomalies with respect to reserved constituencies under the delimitation schemes. The idea of providing certain incentives to a 'diversity index' should be explored. A wide variety of incentives can be linked to this index so as to ensure equal opportunity to all SRCs in the areas of education, government & private employment and housing. Relevant functionaries should be sensitive to the need to have diversity and the problems associated with social exclusion.

The committee recommends that a process of evaluating the content of the school text books needs to be initiated and institutionalized. The University Grants Commission (UGC) should be encouraged to evolve a system where part of the allocation to colleges and universities is linked to the diversity in the student population to facilitate admissions to the 'most backward' among all the SRCs in the regular universities and autonomous

colleges, alternate admission criteria need to be evolved providing hostel facilities at reasonable costs for students from minorities must be taken up on a priority basis. Teachers training should compulsorily include in its curriculum components which introduce the importance of diversity / plurality within the country and sensitize teachers towards the needs and aspirations of Muslims and other marginalized communities. Given the commitment to provide primary education in the Childs mother tongue, the state is required to run Urdu medium school. Work out mechanisms whereby Madrasas can be linked with a higher secondary school board so that students wanting to shift to a regular / mainstream education can do so after having passed from a Madrasa. Recognition of the degrees from Madrasas for eligibility in competitive examinations is desirable. The Committee recommends promoting and enhancing access to Muslims Priority Sector Advances. The real need is of policy initiatives that improve the participation and share of the Minorities, particularly Muslims in the business of regular commercial banks. It may be desirable to have experts drawn from the Community on relevant interview panels and Boards. The country is going through a high growth phase. This is the time to help the underprivileged to utilize new opportunities through skill development and education. Provide financial and other support to initiatives built around occupations where Muslims are concentrated and that have growth potential. The registration of trusts set up by the Community, such as Wakf institutions and mosque committees should be facilitated. Lack of access to crucial infrastructural facilities is another matter of concern for the Muslims. The issues relating to disparities across socio-religious communities are of utmost importance to our nation today.

3.8.4 JUSTICE RANGANATH MISHRA COMMISSION (March 2005)

The National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities (NCRLM) constituted by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Justice Ranganath Misra Commission on March 2005. The panel recommends extension of reservation to religious minorities. The commission suggests that Scheduled Caste status be delinked from religion. Para 3 of the constitution (Scheduled Caste) order 1950 which originally restricted the SC net to Hindus and later it to Sikhs and Buddhists should be wholly deleted by appropriate action. Calling for an overhaul of entire reservation policy, the commission, which submitted its report on May 10, 2007 has stressed the need to limit the benefits of reservation to the socially and economically backward. According to this Commission 15% reservation for minorities, 10 percent for Muslims and 5 percent for other minorities.

3.8.5 KERALA

Kerala reservation policy becomes the subject of an acute judicial controversy so much so that the government appointed number of committee and Commissions. The problem is still persistent in the state for inclusion and exclusion in the list of beneficiaries of the preferential treatment and determination of creamy-layer issue and it become a bone of Condensation in political arena.

3.8.6 Vishwanathan Committee, 1961

The Committee on Backward Classes was appointed in June 1961, under the chairmanship of V.K.Vshwanathan and was asked to identify the backward classes and

suggest measures for the improvement of their conditions. The committee submitted its report in October 1963. The prominent recommendations were:(a) 40 percent of the seats in technical and professional colleges should be reserved for students of the other backward classes and 10 percent of seats for students belonging to the SCs and STs; (b) The above reservation should be to posts under the State Government also;(c) Appointment of an Expert Committee to go into the question of reclassification of backward communities. Government of Kerala accepted the recommendations of the committee but restricted reservation to 25 percent seats for the backward classes.

3.8.7 Pillai Commission, 1965

The state government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Shri G.Kumara Pillai in July 1964 which submitted its report in December, 1965. Its main recommendations were:(1) It classified 91 Communities as backward and stipulated that the benefits should be extended only to those members of the backward classes whose aggregate family income was below Rs.4,200 per year; and (ii) In technical and professional institutions 25 percent of the seats should be reserved for OBCs. It also indicated separate quotas for various categories of OBCs in the allocation of these seats.

The state government accepted the above recommendations with the modification that the income ceiling of Rs.4, 200 was raised to 6,000 per annum. It may be noted that the High court had desired the state Government to institute an enquiry for granting educational benefits to OBCs under Article 15 (4) of the constitution only. In view of this state Government kept reservation at 40 percent level in government jobs.

3.8.8 Damodaran Commission, 1970

After two years, in 1967, the Kerala High court suggested the appointed of yet another Backward Classes Commission and the state then appointed third B.C. Commission, under the chairmanship of M.P.Damodaran, in October 1967. The Commission submitted its report in June 1970.

It found the following factors responsible for social backwardness for the purposes of Article 16(4):(a) Absence of requisite educational attainments (test of education);(b) Absence of money or wealth (economic test);(c) absence of ability to appropriate and adequate number of appointments (test of appropriation of appointments); and (d) caste disability ,occupational stigma ,and social taboos acting as obstacles in the field of education.

Suggestions of the Commission were that the level at which and methods by which each of the tests adopted could be applied.

- a) SSLC and graduate course shall be the levels at which the test of education shall be applied.
- b) The non-gazette and gazette categories of appointments in jobs under the state shall be the levels at which the test of appropriation of appointment shall be applied.
- c) Rs.8, 000 and below shall be the level of total annual family income at which the economic test shall be applied.
- d) The norm of yardstick with reference to which the attainment or position of

each group of citizens, in the field of each of the tests applied, is to be compared (except the test of social backwardness) with the population of that group itself. The comparison of attainment of a group of citizens shall not be made with the attainment of the most developed group citizens at each of the levels mentioned.

- e) The percentage of student population belonging to each group of citizens each of citizens at each of the levels as said above, on the total numbers of such students in Kerala, shall be compared with the norm, namely, the percentage of population of that group itself.
- f) The number of appointment appropriated by each group of citizens in each of the three categories of services, namely, last grade, non-gazetted and gazetted as said above, on the total number of such households in the state, shall be compared with the norm namely, percentage of population of that group itself.
- g) The percentage of household whose total annual income is Rs.8000 or below in each group of citizens on the total number of this type of households the states shall be compared with the percentage of population of that group itself.
- h) The test of education shall not be applied as a separate test. Similar is the case with the application of the other tests.

3.8.9 Narendran Commission Report

The Government of Kerala appointed the commission to study and report on the adequacy or otherwise of representation of the Backward Classes in the services under the state Government, Public Sector Undertakings, Autonomous Bodies and institutions

under the state Government including the Universities, by the notification dated 11th February, 2000, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the commission of inquiry Act, 1952, (Central Act 60 of 1952), the Government of Kerala here by appoint a three member commission of inquiry consisting of Justice K.K.Narendran, Retired judge of High court, Kerala as chairman and K.N.Rabindran Nair, former chief secretary to Government of Kerala, and Savankutty, former chairman, Kerala Public Service Commission as members.

The commission has drawn inferences from a detailed analysis of data's it is clear that almost all the communities of backward classes have improved their position or are improving their presence in the public services. Ezhavas, a major community among the backward classes have secured better representation in more than one category by securing posts in the merit quota over and above the reservation quota. At the same time Muslims another major community among the backward classes have not fared so well. The main reason for this is nothing but educational backwardness. Better education standards of Ezhavas as a whole provide them a good leverage in competing for Government jobs, at least in the recruitment for lower categories. If the Muslim community and its leaders take more interest in the matters of education and make a concerted effort, this community can also reach a similar level of educational advancement in the not distant future. The other communities among the backward classes can also improve their presence in the public services by paying more attention for the education of their children.

The Narendran commission shows the deficiency in matters representation of

different communities among the Backward Classes in the services. The deficiency is calculated on the basis of their reservation quota. The commission noted the fact that, in some departments / institutions and some categories, different backward communities have got representation in excess of reservation quota : but that is what they have attained by their own merit. It is pertinent to note that, among communities which have substantial deficiency, the quantum of deficiency is higher for those with higher reservation quota. Whatever may be the reason it is for the government to take appropriate action to minimize this deficiency in the years to come.

As per the data discussed by the commission, as matters stand now, without the benefit of reservation, no community among the backward classes can have adequate representation in the services under the state Government, Public Sector undertakings, Autonomous Bodies and institutions under the state Government including Universities. Even with reservation, most of the communities are not getting adequate representation in all the categories of posts. Reservation for backward classes is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. It cannot be a permanent feature.

Despite the suggestions, social backwardness continued to be a matter of controversy in Kerala. Some of the populous and advanced caste like Ezhavas exerted pressure not to disturb their privileged status as a backward community. The Administrative Reforms Committee (ARC), appointed by the Government of Kerala, realizing the evils and drawbacks of caste as the grounds for backwardness, suggested the economic criterion. This resulted in a prolonged and bitter conflict between the Ezhavas and Nair's. Further, the dominant castes, irrespective of the fact what they were actually

economically, educationally and socially backward, managed to enjoy the concessions accorded to the backward classes because of their political influence. Owing to political pressure, all the backward communities in Kerala accepted the Ezhavas as backward.

Such communities as passed four tests (education, economic, participation in government service and social backwardness for historical reasons), together with families with income below Rs.8, 000 a year, were recommended for considering backwards for the purposes of Article 16 (4). It included such factors as stigmatized occupations, vestiges of caste discrimination, the custom of purdha, and hatred towards education in English, it recommended 40 percent reservation in government posts for the backward classes for eight groups of backward class such as Ezhavas, Muslims, OBCs and other as per details given below.

CHAPTER 4

OBC MUSLIMS OF KERALA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO MALAPPURAM DISTRICT

4.1 WHAT DO THE MUSLIMS DO FOR A LIVING

Land ownership and Agriculture based employment

❖ Land ownership

The pattern of land-holding seems to be an important factor around which caste-class relations develop. Available data for the Travancore region show the nineteenth thirties the dominant castes, particularly the traditional caste Hindu sections, controlled the largest share of landed property in this region of Kerala. We do not, however, have comparable data relating to this period for the regions comprising present day Kerala.

The first attempt was to study the impact land reform on the land holding pattern of the Muslim community of Kerala. The following Table 1 gives the detail of land holding before and after land reform. After the land reform the landless among the Muslims increased from 32.62% in 1968 to 37% in 1986. Those possessing less than ½ acre of land has also increased by 4.22%. The percentage of Muslim population in 1986 owing up to 5 cents were 18.38% owning more than 5 cents and less than 10 cents were 13.39%. Those owning more than one acre also came down to 2%. It is clear that 68.77% of the Muslim population in Kerala ownined less than ½ an acre of agricultural land from

which they cannot have a living. The land reforms have made the condition of the Muslim community worse than it was before.

Table 4.1: Land ownership of Muslims of Kerala-1968-1986 (percentage of population)

Year	Landless	Below 1/2 acre	Between 1/2-2 acres	Above 2 acres
1968	32.62	35.45	23.08	8.83
1986	37.00	39.67	½-1 acre	7.0
			Above 1 acre	2.0

(Sources: 1.1968 Surveys Report. P.Sivanandan, Social Scientist, 2.1986 NSS)

❖ Cultivators and Agricultural workers

Table 5.2 shows the percentage of cultivators among Hindus, Muslims and Christians and Table 5.3 gives information about agricultural workers. For comparison, the corresponding figures in U. P. and Bihar are also given. The data show that in the area of landed ownership, in cultivation and as agricultural workers, the Muslim communities of Kerala have very little participation. The land reform has deteriorated their condition when comparing with other states in the country (two sample U.P. and Bihar are given) the position of the Muslim of Kerala in the agricultural sector is the worst in the country along with SC/AT.

Table 4.2: Cultivators-community wise (Kerala, UP, Bihar) (Percentage of population)

Community	Kerala	U.P.	Bihar
Hindu	1.96	14.69	10.63
Muslim	1.41	7.5	6.11
Christian	4.33	5.03	5.65

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Table 4.3: Agricultural workers-Community wise (Kerala. UP, Bihar)

Community	Kerala	U.P.	Bihar
Hindu	6.5	8.5	16.21
Muslim	2.74	6.3	15.92
Christians	3.81	4.44	11.84

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Table 4.4: Work force (percentage) All India, Kerala

Community	India	Kerala
Hindu	40.4	35.72
Muslim	31.3	23.25
Christian	39.7	33.91

(Sources: Census of India data on religion 2001)

4.2 Work Participation Rate

The work participation rate is shown in table 4. The work participation of the Muslims in India is 31.3% compared to 40.4% Of the Hindu community and is one of the

lowest. But when we compare the work participation of Muslims in Kerala (23.25) on the basis of census data 2001 it is the lowest among all the 28 states of India.

Table 4.5: Household Industry Workers-Kerala, UP, Bihar

Community	Kerala	U.P	Bihar
Hindu	1.5	1.45	1.23
Muslims	0.62	3.48	1.8
Christians	0.86	1.69	1.24

(Sources: Census data 2001)

Table 4.6: Work participation by religion in different categories, Kerala

Religion	Total	cultivators	Agri. Workers	HHI workers	other workers
Hindu	35.72	1.96%	6.55%	1.50%	25.71%
Muslim	23.25	1.41%	2.74%	0.62%	18.48%
Christians	33.91	4.33%	3.81%	0.86%	24.91%

(Sources: Census data 2001)

The above table proves that in all economic activities such as cultivators, agricultural workers, house hold industry workers and other workers, Muslims are engaged in less number compared to the participation enjoyed by other religious communities. Muslims share in income-oriented jobs, industry and agriculture is too meager. Muslims all over India are meeting their livelihood from petty trades, menial and trivial jobs that forward communities eschew to perform, and statistics collected by Gopal Singh High Power Panel (1983) on minorities has already established the pathetic

conditions of Muslims in India. In the matter of work participation Muslims are comparable only to the position of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the national level. In Kerala the situation is worse than any other Indian states, especially in Government jobs and Public sector undertakings, in spite of the existence of reservation for the community under Article 16 (4) of the constitution.

It is also clear that the work participation of Muslims in Kerala is worse than that of any other backward communities and minorities in the state. As regards Muslim women in Kerala their work participation figure is abysmally poor- 5.9% only, indicating that highest number of unemployed women are residents in Muslim dominated northern districts of the state.

Table 4.7: Comparison of work participation among religious communities in 5 major states where Muslims mostly live

Religion	U.P.	Bihar	W.Bengal	Assam	Kerala
Hindu	33.2	34.3	37.9	38.6	35.7
Muslims	29.1	30.9	32.9	29.1	23.2
Christians	33.9	39.2	38.9	41.7	33.9
Sikhs	32.7	31.3	33.7	42.2	43.3
Buddhist	33.4	32.6	35.5	41.1	34.6
Jains	28.8	29.9	32.9	32.9	36.0
Others	36.4	46.9	53.1	44.0	35.4

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Proportions of four main activities among religious communities in five major states where Muslims live are as follows.

Table: 4.8 Cultivators Percentage

Religion	UP	Bihar	W.Bengal	Assam	Kerala
Hindu	14.69	10.63	7.03	14.98	1.96
Muslims	7.50	6.11	6.68	11.33	1.41
Christians	5.03	5.65	5.97	18.71	4.33

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Table: 4.9: Agricultural Workers Percentage

Hindu	8.50	16.21	19.10	3.98	6.55
Muslims	6.30	15.92	8.75	6.20	2.74
Christian	4.44	11.84	7.74	6.11	3.81

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Table 4.10: House hold industry workers Percentage

Hindu	1.45	1.23	2.24	1.48	1.5
Muslims	3.48	1.8	4.15	0.96	0.62
Christian	1.69	1.24	0.82	0.94	0.86

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Table 4.11: Other workers Percentage

Hindu	8.60	6.18	19.48	18.16	25.71
Muslims	11.87	7.05	13.32	10.61	18.48
Christian	22.78	20.46	24.39	15.95	24.91

(Sources: Census of India data 2001)

Note:- Percentage is worked out on the total population of each community in each category.

- a) The land reform had weekend the position of Muslim in land ownership and in agricultural sector. The landless has increased from 32.62 in 1968 to 375 in 1986. Those who were having land more than an acre even came down to 2%.
- b) Those engaged in agriculture for living is only 1.96% and is the lowest in the country.
- c) Agricultural labor from the Muslim community is the lowest in the state and the country.
- d) Muslims in the work force is the lowest in the state and the country.
- e) There is more number of cultivators among Christians in Kerala than other religious communities. 4.33% of the Christian population is cultivators, whereas only 1.41% of Muslims are cultivators. The rate of cultivators reflects the ownership pattern of landholdings. The rate of agricultural workers among Hindu is 6.55%, Christians 3.81%, Muslims 2.74%, being the lowest.
- f) The artisans, craftsmen, cottage industry workers, petty house hold workers, family workers etc. are included in this category. Most of the self employees in Kerala are included in this group. Only 0.62% of the Muslims are engaged in

House hold industries. As in the case of other categories, Muslims have the lowest of participation in House hold industries.

4.3 Employment in Government Services

According to the state planning Board published in Economic Review (February 2005), There are 11, 68,833 employment opportunities in Kerala in organized sector as on 1-1-2004. This include 619,263 government sector jobs and 5,49,570 private sector jobs. Government sector jobs are further classified as follows.

Table 4.12: Government Sector Jobs

Central Govt.		State Govt.	
Govt.Department	80979	Govt.Department	2722483
Quasi Government	101391	Quasi Government	137177
		Local Bodies	27233
Total	182370		4,36,893
Total		182370+436893=61263	

(Source-Directorate of Employment-E-R-2005)

The share of Muslims in state government employment in Kerala is 0.15% of that total population of the state and 0.59% of state Muslim population. These figures are worked out from the data contained in the Justice K.K Narendran Commission Report. According to this report dated 09.11.2001, there are only 46,500 Muslims out of 4, 70,275 employees as on 01.08.2000 and constitutes 9.88% of total State Government employment.

Details of the share of employment of Muslims and other communities are given below, as percentage of the total population of the state:

Table 4.13: Share of Employment of Muslims & Others

Total	SC/ST	Muslims	Ezhava	Forward
Population	10.95	24.7	20.40	23.5
Representation	13.13	9.88	21.32	38.98
Excess/shortage	+2.08	-14.82	+1.08	+15.48

(Source-Directorate of Employment-E-R-2005)

Even with the benefit of 12% quota reservation (10% in Last Grade) Muslim presence in government services is 9.88% while the Muslim population in the state is 24.70% of the state population. Ezhava, another backward class, enjoying 14% quota reservation, with a lesser population than Muslims, have secured 21.32 % of the government jobs.

At the same time Forward communalities comprising 23.5% of the state population have availed of 38.98% government jobs. Scheduled and Scheduled Tribes of Kerala constitute 10.95% of the state population. They gained representation in employment of 13.13% i.e. more than their proportion to their population.

Though the Muslims constitute 24.7% of the state population, their participation is only 9.88% which is much less than the representation of SCs and STs in Government Service. Based on these facts, one has to assume that the acute inadequacy of Muslim representation, in spite of the availability of quota reservation for them, is due to deliberate violations of rules by the recruiting and appointing authorities. As the Muslim

population in the state is 24.7% their shortage of representation when worked out on the basis of population is 14.82%.

Though a few Muslims in various states are included in the list of socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC) as recommended by Mandal Commission, the vast majority of the Muslim masses throughout the country are still out side the purview of quota reservation in Central Government services. In majority of the states, Muslims are not included, even partially, in the state list of Backward Classes who are eligible for reservation in education and employment. Even in those South Indian states where some provisions for reservation to Muslims exists, it appears that they are being systematically violated by the concerned authorities causing under representation of the community. The glaring example is the state of Kerala.

4.4 EMIGRATION TO GULF AND OTHER COUNTRIES

The emigration to gulf countries for a living started during the 1970s and it increased during the 80s and 90s. The unemployed youth of Kerala found emigration the only means to alleviate poverty. About 1.3 to 1.5 million Keralate maintains their families by remittance from abroad. Three quarter of a million former emigrants live mostly on their savings. Emigration has helped the poor much more than the agrarian reform or any other measures taken by the government. The beneficiary effect of emigration is much more than the adverse affects. The remittance received in 1999 was 13,650 cores, which increased to Rs.18, 460 cores in 2004. This amounts to Rs 5,678/- for every man, woman and children in Kerala. The foreign remittance to the state is equivalent to 7 times the financial support the state government received from the centre,

15 times the receipt from cashew export and 19 times receipt from marine export. It is also 1.8 times the annual budget of the state. The work experience, the skills and the discipline, the Gulf returnees had brought with them, the beneficiary effect an education, employment, housing, household amenities are all to the advantage of the state.

The remittance from abroad has not helped the industrialization of country essentially because it was the poorest illiterate population of the state who has immigrated to the gulf countries as construction workers, salesmen, and domestic help and for other petty jobs to get out of poverty. The educationally backward Muslims of Malappuram and North Kerala provided the backbone of the poverty alleviation of the Kerala state as a whole. But the benefits were shared by all communities, which is evident from Table-1. If we consider 100 households in each community, 36.1 percent Brahmin households, 69.5% Marthoma Christian Households and 54.7% Muslim households, 20.7 Nair households, 16.2%, 16.2 Ezhavas households had emigrants. The share of other communities can be seen in Table 1. Non Resident Keralate (NRK) defined, as the some of emigrants and return emigrants was 21.03 lakhs in 1999 and 27.3 lakhs in 2004 indicating an increase of 30%. Migration had been an effective route for economic emancipation of the poor in all communities. Of the Rs.7, 977 cores received in 2004, Hindu households received Rs.2, 365 cores, Christian households received Rs.2, 021 cores and Muslim households received Rs.3590 cores (K.C. Zacharia, S.Irudaya Rajan, Gulf Revisited, CDS publication, p 39). The highest receipt was in Trichur Districts; the second was Pathanamthitta and the third Malappuram. All the 14 districts of Kerala had experienced an increase in remittance in 2004 compared to 1999. Remittance per migrant was the highest in Trichur (51750/-), Idukki Rs.50000/- and Kollam Rs.40000/- and

Kannur only Rs.15000/-. The district wise receipt of remittance in 2004 and its influence on district wise Net Domestic Product (NDDP) are shown in Table 2 and figure 1. The percapita domestic income(NSDP) in 2003 was Rs.25,764/- and including the remittance it comes to Rs.31,442,an increase of Rs.5,678/- Malappuram has the lowest percapita income even when the remittance from abroad is also taken into account. The percapita income of Malappuram district taking into account the foreign remittance is lower than 9 other districts without taking into account the foreign remittance. The four districts which go above Malappuram when the foreign remittance is also accounted in per capita income are Wayanad, Palakkad, Kannur, and Kasargod. These are also the educationally backward districts, which the National Policy on Education 1986 identified for special consideration for improving education.

In 1998, 7, 39,000 migrants returned to Kerala. The construction boom in Gulf countries was slowing down and the unskilled and the semi-skilled illiterate worker had very little opportunity in the gulf countries. About 45 percent of the return migrants were Muslims. “A Typical return migrant in Kerala is a married Muslim male in his thirties with an incomplete level of education and without any technical training” (K. C. Zacharia, K. P. Kannan, Irudaya Rajan: Kerala’s Gulf Connection, p. 95, CDS publication).

It was expected that the return emigrants will be much more after 1998 as a result of slowing down of construction activities in the Gulf States. But that has not happened. The rate of increase in migration has decreased, the rate of increase in migration being more than the rate of return migration.

The nature of the migration and the countries to which they are migrating are changing. America, Canada, Europe, South East Asia are the new places of emigration. Within the gulf countries also there is realignment. The emigration to UAE increased from 31.0 percent in 1999 to 36.5 percent in 2004 and to Saudi Arabia, the emigration decreased. During 1999-2004, the migration increased from 13.6 lakhs to 18.4 lakhs and the number of non-resident Keralate (emigrants & returns emigrant) increasing from 21.0 lakhs in 1999 to 27.3 lakhs in 2004. The increase in Migration is from educated youth or knowledge migration in which the comparatively less educated Muslim from districts of Malabar has very little part.

There is general complaint that the huge remittance from abroad did not help the industrialization of the state. The fact to be noted is that it was the poor illiterate people of Kerala who have migrated to other countries to find a means to feed their families. They did not have the education or the management skills or the surplus capital necessary for investment. The migration in the early stages could be considered only as a means to get over poverty. But now the knowledge workers with high salaries are migrating and they will have the resources, skills and entrepreneurial skills to start industries. Here again, the districts with high percapita income from where most of the Knowledge workers are emigrating stand to benefit in future from the surplus capital formation and other capabilities in these districts.

One important thing the emigration has brought about is a leveling off income of different social and religious groups and removal of abject poverty. Every section of the population realized that education is the biggest asset and are eager to go for it. This is

likely to bring structural changes in Kerala society. Caste hierarchy is based on the assumption that people belonging to certain caste and communities alone have the ability for grater achievements. The foundation of this assumption is being challenged by children of backward communities in SSLC and competitive exams by achieving highest ranks making it evident that given the opportunities and environment, every section of the population can reach better heights. Added to this, a leveling off income and education create demands for equity and social justice, which is considered a threat for those who had wealth, education and political power. Even important leaders of ruling and opposition parties are not able to imbibe the social and structural changes that are taking place in the society. Sometimes these leaders are make statements, which are not based on factual situation. Change is a natural process and it is the responsibility of the leaders to make the change orderly for building a just society.

Table 4.14: Emigrants, Return Emigrants and Non-Resident Keralites per 100 Households, by Community

Community	EMI	REM	NRK
SC/ST	3.1	2.5	5.6
Nairs	20.7	8.3	29.0
Ezhavas	16.2	9.6	25.8
Brahmins	36.1	5.4	41.5
Other Hindus	12.4	7.1	19.5
Roman Catholics	24.0	9.7	33.7
Latin Catholics	22.4	19.2	41.6
Jacobite/Orthodox	36.0	15.0	51.6
Marthoma	69.5	29.6	99.0
CSI	22.6	15.1	37.7
Muslims	54.7	26.5	81.3
Kerala	26.8	13.1	39.0

(Sources: K.C Zachariah, S.Irudaya Rajan, Gulf Revisited CDS Trivandrum working paper 363)

Table 4.15: Remittances, NSDP, per Capita Income, and Modified per capita Income of Districts, 2004

Districts	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tiruvanthapuram	1927	9153	21.1	27686	33514	5828
Kollam	1813	6737	26.9	25646	32548	6902
Pathanamthitta	954	3341	28.6	26901	34582	7681
Alapuzha	1339	5638	23.8	26459	32746	6287
Kottayam	580	5676	10.2	28622	31545	2923
Idukki	39	3617	1.1	31697	32041	344
Ernakulam	1515	10428	14.5	32918	37702	4784
Trissur	3234	8459	38.2	27871	38525	10654
Palakkad	1148	5920	19.4	22132	26425	4293
Malappuram	2892	6316	45.8	16766	24443	7677
Kozhikode	1357	7639	17.8	25964	30576	4612
Wayanad	68	1994	3.4	24432	25260	828
Kannur	976	5973	16.3	24369	28350	3981
Kasargode	623	2894	21.5	23414	28457	5043
Kerala	18465	83783	22.0	25764	31442	5678

(Source: K.C.Zacharia, S.Irudaya Rajan, CDS Trivandapuram working paper 363)

Migration to Gulf and other countries started to get over poverty and to support their families and as such it could be considered as a poverty alleviation programme. About 36.1% of the Brahmin households, 20.7% Nair house holds, 16.2% Ezhava house holds, 69.5% Marthoma Christian house holds and 54.7% Muslim house holds receive remittance from abroad. Trichur district receives the maximum remittance. Six districts of Malabar have the lowest per capita income in Kerala and the lowest among them is Malappuram. Even if remittance from abroad is added to local income, the total per capita income of Malappuram district is lower than the GDP locally earned income without adding foreign remittance. 'Knowledge worker' migration is increasing. The six Northern districts, which are educationally backward, have very little share in it. For productive purpose, surplus capital, knowledge, skill and entrepreneurial capabilities are required, which are also lacking in the northern districts.

Emigration, especially to gulf countries has greatly helped the Keralates including Muslims in improving their standard of living and providing jobs. However, Keralates, especially Muslims face lot of procedural and legal hurdles subjecting them to exploitation. The present Emigration Act does not provide any legal or social protection to the workers reaching foreign land whereas the act subjects them so many unbeneficial requirements leading to their exploitation by recruiting agents and corrupt officials including police and emigration officials. The present emigration Act may scrap and free legal emigration be encouraged and facilitated by improving passport regulations. Government can also et up welfare founds and provide adequate insurance cover for workers going abroad, especially, the unskilled and the uneducated. Our embassies in gulf countries may be suitably strengthened to arrange and provide legal and material support to employees working in gulf countries.

4.5 EDUCATION

The national policy on education is the first document in which a specific mention is made about access to education for minorities. The NEP states that the interest of quality and justice greater attention will be paid to the education of these groups (NEP 4.8) in the programme of action one chapter is earmarked for implementing the programme. The Muslims and Neo-Buddhists are recognized as educationally backward minorities. Forty (40) District in the country with concentration of Muslim population are listed in the programme of action out of which five Districts-Malappuram, Calicut, Wayanad, Palakkad and Kannur, which is divided into Kannur and Kasargod-from Kerala, are included It is worthwhile for the commission to look into the ways in which

this programme is implemented in all states. Here we are trying to analysis the implementation of the programme in Kerala and to study and understand the policies followed by governments in Kerala vis-à-vis, the education of the minorities in particular and Other Backward Communities in general.

There is no evidence to show that the Kerala government has made any special effort to improve the access to education for minorities in the five Districts (which become 6 later), specified in the programme of Action or to increase the intake capacities so that these Districts will be at par with other Districts. Out of the 14 Districts in Kerala 8 Districts had pass percentage above 60% in SSLC 2003. The six Districts specially mentioned in Programme were the Districts, which had the lowest pass percentage. Further, with regard to access at +1' stage it was noted that ten (10) Southern Districts had facilities to educate large number of third-class students at government expenditure while 4 Northern Districts required 14,500 additional seats in 2003 to provide admission to second-class students in their respective Districts. It is evident that the recommendations in the NEP1986 is not only implemented but it could be seen that the surplus educational facilities prevailed in educationally advanced districts and much shortage of bare facilities were felt in districts where rapid growth in education was necessary. This was the situation till 2003.(Report of the state Commission on School Education, 2003).

In this context, it is pertinent to note that nearly 70 percent of the Muslim population in Kerala lives in these six northern districts of the state. Which, taken together, corresponds to the erstwhile Malabar districts of the Madras presidency. Budget

allotment for education is an indication of the policy of the government towards education. Kerala achieved UEE during 1980s. Four successive governments that came to power since 1985 reduced the budgetary allocation for education as could be understood from table.

Table 4.16: Kerala-Education budget as percentage of the total budget

	Period of the ministry	Party	Education budget as percentage of total budget	Percentage of reduction
1.	1982-83to86-87	UDF	from37.2 to 31.5	5.7
2.	1987-88to90-91	LDF	From31.5 to27.45	4.05
3.	1991-92to94-95	UDF	From 27.5to26.67	0.78
4.	1995-96to99-2000	LDF	From 26.7 to22.56	4.11

Total reduction 14.64 ; Reduction by UDF governments 6.48%; LDF governments 8.16%. (Source: K.K.George Zacharia , N. Ajit Kumar. Financing Secondary Education in Kerala. Center for Socio Economic &Environmental Studies:2003.)

The education budget, which was 37.2 percent of total budget in 1982-83 was brought down 22.56 percent in 1999-2000. There is practically no reduction in educational budget after 2000. Kerala achieved UEE in 1980s which means that social groups, who were backward and not keen on education, started sending their children to schools at primary level. It is not difficult for the state to understand that the backward communities that have reached the primary level will demand access to education at upper primary and higher levels. Instead of supporting and financing such a social demand, the governments of Kerala started withdrawing support for education as can be understood from the reduction in expenditure for education and non implementation of the central schemes for education of the Minorities which are detailed in the Programme of Action of the National policy on Education.

The principles of protective discrimination and equity are mentioned in policy statement. But when it comes to actual implementation, communities with high level of economic status and social superiority continue to develop faster in achieving higher level of education, employment and income than those with poor background. For the transformation of the socio-economic status of the weaker sections, the statements of protective discrimination alone will not be sufficient. Deliberate intervention of governments is required. That is the lesson to be learned from this study on education in Kerala.

In Kerala, social changes preceded the demand for education. Educational planners at the centre do not consider the important factor. Late in the 19th century, the edible oil industry in England with cocoanut oil as the raw material and commercialization of agriculture brought modest prosperity to a backward community who were involved in the business of cocoanut and cocoanut products. This generated demands for entry into educational institutions. The events that followed brought social changes in Kerala. A similar situation exists now in Kerala. The job opportunities in the gulf countries brought modest prosperity in the Muslim community. The realization that education is most important and their children should be educated at any cost has increased the demand for education. All other backward communities have also come to the same realization. Ironically, it is at this stage that the government started reducing the state budget on education, making it difficult and expensive for the poor to educate their children especially at higher classes.

In spite of the fact that the government support for education has decreased, the demand for education continued to increase. About 92 percent of the age specific populations in all districts were in 10th standard during 2003. The students appearing for SSLC in 2004 increased only by about 2% and this trend will continue. The backward districts are putting an effort to increase the pass percentage in SSLC to above 60%. Six (6) Districts recorded below 60% pass in 2003. The number came down to 3- Malappuram, Palakkad, and Wayanad- in 2004. 38.3% of the students in Malappuram district got more than second-class marks while in Trivandrum district 61% of students got second- class and above which could be considered as a measure of the quality of education in the two districts.

4.6 MUSLIMS OF KERALA: STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living of a population can be measured in several ways. One method would be to consider the level of household income. Nevertheless, the data mobilized on household income are often fraught with problems of reliability. An alternate method is to consider the percapita consumer expenditure, which reflects the standards of living of the members of the household to a large extent, and serves as a proxy for household income.

The surveys on employment and unemployment among the religious groups in India conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization provide a rich source of information on the monthly percapita expenditure across religious groups for the different states in India. A glance of the data mobilized by the organization in its 55th Round (1999-2000) for the rural areas indicates that, in almost all the states in India, the

proportion of persons whose monthly per capita consumer expenditure stands at Rs.300 or less is higher among the Muslims than among the Hindus and Christians. On the contrary, the Muslims reported the lowest proportion of persons whose monthly expenditure was Rs.615 or above. In the urban areas also the results have been similar, though with marginal differences in some states.

These figures imply that (1) the proportion of the poor is larger among the Muslims than among the Hindus and Christians. The relative position of the Muslims would be worse if one excludes Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who make a hand to mouth existence in most parts of India. (2) The proportion of the rich is lowest among the Muslims than other two major communities.

Kerala is not an exception to this general scenario. About 8.2 percent of Muslims in rural Kerala have a monthly per capita expenditure of Rs.300 or less. The corresponding figure among the Hindus is 7.2 percent and among the Christians, barely 3.8 percent. It may be noted that only 6.7 percent of the population in the state has monthly per capita consumer expenditure equal to or less than Rs.300. The percentage among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are included in the broad band of Hindus are 13.9 and 13.8 respectively. This would indicate that the wide differences existing between the Muslims and Hindus sans the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. While the levels of income and expenditure among the Muslims reflect upon the relative scale of poverty among the members of the community in the state, only 34.6 percent of the Muslims reported monthly per capita expenditure above Rs.615. The

corresponding proportion among the Hindu community was 41 percent and among the Christians, 52.6 percent.

4.6.1 Levels of Poverty: Result of a State Government Survey

The relative levels of poverty among the Muslims in the state become obvious from the higher proportion of families below the poverty line in the districts where Muslims are numerically significant. Nearly 70 percent of the Muslim population in Kerala live in northern districts of the state, which taken together, corresponds to the erstwhile Malabar district of the Madras presidency. The IRDP survey conducted by the Rural Development Department indicates that about 43 percent of the families in the Malabar region are below poverty line, as against 32.71 percent in the rest of the state. Malappuram districts, which have about 68 percent of its population belonging to the Muslim community, have the fourth largest proportion of families below the poverty line, and districts, which have a higher percentage of families below poverty line, are also observed to be having a good percentage of families below the poverty line.

Table 4.17: Level of Poverty :Result of State Governement Survey

Name of District/Region	% of Muslim in the total population	proportion of Muslims in the district to the total Muslim population in the state	percentage of families below the poverty line
Thiruvananthapuram	12.82	5.57	39.13
Kollam	17.65	6.26	39.32
Pathanamthitta	4.03	0.71	33.06
Alappuzha	9.26	2.73	45.95
Kottayam	5.35	1.44	18.10
Idukki	6.70	1.06	15.29

Eranakulam	14.02	5.82	26.56
Thrissur	15.97	6.44	33.54
Palakkad	25.37	8.90	52.13
Malappuram	67.37	30.73	41.18
Kozhikode	36.23	13.98	34.84
Wayand	25.87	2.56	49.87
Kannur	26.27	8.71	38.85
Kasargode	32.24	5.09	44.46
Kerala	23.33	100	36.58
Malabar	38.99	69.97	42.74
Travancore-Cochin	11.99	30.03	32.71

Note: Population figures relate to the 1991 census.

(Source: State Planning Board (SPB), Gok, Economic Review, 2003.)

This does not mean that all the families below the poverty line in the Malabar region belong to the Muslim community. However the data on per capita consumer expenditure, to which reference was made earlier, give sufficient reason to believe that a significant section of the families below the poverty line in these districts belong to the Muslim community. Based on the data on consumer expenditure, it is only reasonable to infer that Muslims have a higher proportion of BPL families than among the Hindus and Christians and the difference would be sharper once we exclude the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households who are included in the fold of the Hindu religious group.

4.7 EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Poverty and unemployment go together and it is no wonder that the levels of employment among the Muslims are the lowest in India. This is brought out by the NSS Survey on employment unemployment.

It may be noted that the Kerala appears as the state with the largest rate of unemployment and the rate of unemployment in the state is the highest among the

Muslims. The data clearly shows that 10 percent of the Muslim labour force in the state is unemployed as against 8.2 percent among the Hindus and 9.4 percent among the Christians. Other studies also corroborate the findings of the N.S.S. For instance, a recent study on educated unemployment in Kerala, conducted by the Centre For Development Studies in connection with the Kerala Human Development Report, indicates that rate of unemployment among those with SSLC and above is the highest among the Muslims (58 percent), followed by Hindus (46 percent) and Christians (40 percent). Moreover, the study found that it is the poor who are more vulnerable to unemployment than the rich.

The high rate of educated unemployment brought out by the study raises a number of questions regarding the efficiency of the system of reservation in the state. It may be noted that the Kerala is one of the states that introduced community reservation for government jobs at very early date. But the information brought out recently by the Narendran Commission would indicate that the Muslims remain underrepresented in the state services. More over the gap is the most significant with respect to higher positions. However, the data mobilized by the Narendran Commission was related to the services under the state government only. Forum for Faith and Fraternity collected some information regarding the employment at higher positions in some of the academic institutions in the state. The Kerala University, which is the oldest university in the state, has currently 72 Professors, 44 Readers and 66 Lecturers. Out of this, only 6 professors, 3 Readers and 9 Lecturers are from the Muslim community. Out of 28 Department Heads and 8 Deans in the Cochin University of Science and Technology, there is not even a single Muslim. The Center for Earth Science Studies, a premier institution under the Department of Science and Technology of the Kerala Government, has 56 faculty

positions of which only 3 are Muslims. The Kerala Forest Research Institute, which is another institute supported by the state government, has 69 scientists out of which none is a Muslim. The Centre for Water Resources Development and Management, another research institution funded by the state government, has 39 scientists, out of which 3 are Muslims. Out of 32 Technical Officers in the CWRDM only 5 are Muslims and out of 10 Technical Assistants in the institute only one is a Muslim. The Centre for Development Studies, the only ICSSR institute in the state, has 26 faculty positions, out of none belongs to the Muslim community.

4.8 OWNERSHIP OF ASSETS

In any nation where agriculture is the mainstay of the population, land is the principal means of production. Moreover, land ownership is considered the most important single yardstick of social status. Unfortunately, we do not have proper information on the relative position of each community with respect to the area of land owned. However, the various rounds of the National Sample Survey give some information on land cultivated. According to the latest Round of the N.S.S. (1999-2000), in all major states of India, with the possible exception of Jammu and Kashmir, the proportion of households without any cultivated land is the highest among the Muslims. What is more shocking is that the proportion of Muslim households without land exceeds the proportion of Scheduled Tribe land less households in all states and that of the Scheduled Caste households except in four states-Assam, Bihar, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

It is well known that Kerala is one state undertook land reform programmes at a very early date. The pre-land reform survey undertaken by the state government in 1968 showed that 34 percent of the Muslims were landless. The major tenant of the land reform programme that the state undertook was to end tenancy. This was implemented through (1) conferment of ownership rights to the tenants at will (Verumpattakars) and (2) provision of ownership to the large number of tenant hutment dwellers to their hutments.

The majority of the Muslims who benefited from the land reforms were those belonging to the later category and the land that they received ranged from 2 cents to 10 cents. Land reforms were implemented in the state as an one-shot affair 1971. The size of the households that received miniscule areas multiplied subsequently and the land that was received by each newly formed household came down consequent on the formation of new families. Moreover, the land reform programmes precluded the possibilities for taking up land under tenancy. According to the 55th Round of the N.S.S 37.8 percent of the Muslim households in Kerala are either landless or possessing less than 2.48 cents. The corresponding proportion among the Hindu (including the S.Cs and STs) and Christian households were 32.2 and 36.1 percent respectively. Interestingly, the proportion of land less household among the Muslims exceeded the proportion among Scheduled Tribe households. The only section with a larger proportion of landless than the Muslims in Kerala is the Scheduled Castes.

4.9 ACCESS TO SERVICES

Access to social services has three dimensions: social, economic and physical. With regard to the first, viz. social access, Muslims in the state are in par with other communities. Nevertheless, social accessibility cannot be viewed in isolation from economic accessibility, which, in turn, depends on the economic position of the community. We have already noted that a relatively large proportion of Muslims in the state, as measured by the per capita monthly consumer expenditure, live under conditions of poverty. Further a comparison of the per capita income across the districts in the state indicates that in districts where Muslims are numerically stronger the per capita income falls short of the state average (Table). Interestingly, the per capita income in the district of Malappuram, where nearly 70 percent of the population is Muslim and where nearly 31 percent of the total Muslim population in the state lives, is only 65.07 percent of the state average.

Table 4.18: The N.S.S.O.'S definition of landlessness includes the absolutely land and those possessing less than 0.01 hectares, or 2.48 cents

Name Of District	Per capita income (2002-03)at Current Prices
Trivandrum	27686
Kollam	25646
Pathanamthitta	26901
Aappuzha	26459
Kottayam	28622
Idukki	31697
Eranakulam	32918
Thrissur	27871
Palakkad	22132
Malappuram	16766
Kozhicode	25964
Wayand	24432
Kannur	24369
Kasargod	23414
Kerala	25764

(Source: State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 2003, p.12)

Poverty acts, as a major barrier to access the social services, even when these services are available. Nevertheless, this does not imply that areas where Muslims are numerically dominant have better physical provisioning of social services. This becomes

evident in the case of facilities provided by the state in areas such as education, health services, water supply, banking facilities and other services.

4.10 HEALTH SERVICES

Kerala has the envious position of having achieved 'good health at low cost'. This achievement, it has been pointed out that the result of public action. The role of the state in achieving the current health status in the state has been well documented. However, there had been significant differences in the nature and pace of public action, during the one and half centuries before independence, across the regions that constitute the present Kerala state (Kabir. M and T. N.Krishnan: 1996). One result of this was the regional differences in the availability of health care services in the state at the dawn of the formation of the Kerala state (Centere for Development Studies/United Nations, Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy, 1975). Though this differentials has come down during the period since 1956, the northern districts of the state, which, taken together, house 70 percent of the Muslim population in the state, still suffer from poor availability of health care services. Table gives the bed-population ratio at the district level. It also gives the geographical area per medical institution.

Table 4.8: Availability of Health Care Services across Districts and Regions of Kerala, 2003

Sl.No Of District	Name Of District	Hospital Beds/ Lakh Population	Geographical Area (Km) Per Medical Institution
1	Truvandrum	275	8.73
2	Kollam	104	13.11
3	Pathanamthitta	168	19.28
4	Alappuzha	243	6.97

5	Kottayam	241	11.78
6	Idukki	96	37.74
7	Eranakulam	187	9.71
8	Thrissur	161	11.80
9	Palakkad	101	19.15
10	Malappuram	73	14.49
11	Kozhicode	186	11.49
12	Wayanad	121	25.07
13	Kannur	131	13.92
14	Kasargode	76	15.94
	Kerala	160	14.33
	Malabar	116	15.79
	Travancore-Cochin	192	13.33

Note: Covers all government medical institutions under the three medical systems, Allopathic, Ayurveda and Homeopathy

(Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 2003)

The Table clearly shows that the availability of health care services is lower in the districts where the Muslims are numerically significant than in other districts. It is striking that Malappuram district stands the lowest in terms of population-bed ratio. The number of hospital beds per one Lakh population in the districts is well below 50 percent of the state average. Strikingly, the bed-population ratio in Malappuram is well below one fourth of that in Trivandrum. Barring the districts where a substantial portion of the geographical area is covered by forests and hills unsuited for human habitation (like Palakkad Kannur, Kasargod), Malappuram stands the lowest in terms of geographical coverage of medical institutions. Taking all the districts in the northern region we find the stark differences with the rest of the state. As noted, 70 percent of the Muslims in the state live in these districts. The poor availability of state-maintained health care services drives the poor souls in these districts to the private practitioners and private hospitals, which, in turn, adds to their poverty.

4.11 BANK CREDIT

The accessibility to banking services is crucial in the overall development of a region. The latest data on the distribution of scheduled bank branches indicate wide disparity across regions. For the state as a whole, there are 3376 branches of scheduled commercial banks. This works out to one branch for every 9431 persons and for 11.51sq km. area. However, for the Malabar region, these figures are 11,804 and 15.24 respectively as against 8211 as 9.60 for the rest of the state. Malappuram district, the figures stand at 16,650 persons per bank branch and one branch per 16.28 (sq.km).

The poorer banking facilities in the areas where the Muslims are numerically stronger become more visible if we take the public sector banks separately. The average geographical area served by one public sector bank branch in the Malabar region work out to nearly two times that in the rest of the state. Interestingly, the average population covered by one public sector bank branch is the highest in the Malappuram district and the figure exceeds 2.6 times the state average .In terms of the area covered by one public sector bank branch, Malappuram stands next only to the hilly, sparsely populated districts of Idukki and Wayanad.

Table 4.9: Banking Facilities in Kerala.2003

Name of district	No. Branches		Population per bank branch		Area covered per Bank Branch(sq.km)		Credit - deposit ratio	
	Public sector	All scheduled commercial banks	Public sector	All sheduled commere- ial bank	Public sector	All sheduled comer-cial bank	Public sector	All sheduled comer-cial bank
Trivandrum	257	347	12586	9322	8.53	6.32	58.6	50.8

Kollam	128	189	20188	13673	19.46	13.18	49.0	46.6
Pathanamthitta	135	232	9123	5309	19.57	11.39	16.5	16.6
Alappuzha	132	215	15950	9792	10.71	6.58	36.7	33.7
Kottayam	161	273	12130	7153	13.68	8.07	45.6	39.2
Idukki	66	98	17100	11516	76.05	51.21	87.5	90.3
Eranakulam	291	497	10647	6234	8.27	4.84	69.6	64.0
Thrissur	152	379	19575	7851	19.95	8.00	27.8	27.7
Palakkad	132	255	19826	10263	33.94	17.57	43.6	46.3
Malappuram	81	218	44810	16650	43.83	16.28	21.0	32.1
Kozhicode	118	259	24394	11114	19.86	9.05	43.1	54.1
Wynad	35	73	22475	10776	60.89	29.19	159.8	179.4
Kannur	107	216	22545	11168	27.72	13.73	26.9	35.4
Kasaragod	60	125	20056	9627	33.20	15.94	31.8	46.1
Kerala	1855	17164	9431	20.95	11.51	43.6	43.0	
	3376							
Malabar	533	1146	25380	11804	32.76	15.24	35.5	45.0
Travancore- Cochin	1322	2230	13851	8211	16.19	9.60	46.4	42.5

(Source: Banking Statistics, Quarterly Handout, June, 2003)

The shortage of banking facility has been one of the reasons for the relatively low development of the region. It may be noted that the C-D ratio in Malappuram stands well below the state average, though not lowest in the state. While this can partly be due to the

low levels of investment in the district, the low C-D ratio reflects on the inability of the commercial banks in boosting investment in the district, as well as in the whole of Malabar where Muslims constitute a significant proportion of the population. Needless to say, the lack of adequate facilities for banking grab the surplus income to conspicuous consumption, at least among the well off, and keeps the facilities for credit away from the needy poor in the region.

4.12 MUNICIPAL SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

❖ Water Supply

Safe water is the most essential for a healthy life. Kerala has an enviable position with respect to water supply through the government machinery. More than 64 percent of the population in Kerala, is covered by one or other water supply scheme provided by the state. Nevertheless, the spatial distribution of these schemes has not been even across the districts. Table gives the percentage of population covered by water supply schemes across districts.

Table 4.10.1: Percentage of Population Covered by Water supply Schemes

Name of District	Percentage of Population covered
Trivandrum	74.02(4)
Kollam	59.19(7)
Pathanamthitta	56.87(8)
Alappuzha	79.64(2)

Kottayam	56.57(9)
Idukki	49.61(14)
Eranakulam	89.46(1)
Thrissur	75.42(3)
Palakkad	53.68(11)
Malappuram	55.69(10)
Kozhicode	46.59(13)
Wyanad	72.49(5)
Kannur	53.36(12)
Kasargod	64.52(6)
Kerala	64.02

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the relative ranking. (Source: State Planning Board, Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 2003,P.S.85)

It may be noted that the districts where the Muslims are numerically stronger appear with low ranks relative to the other districts. Only 54.71 percent of the population in the districts: which belong to the erstwhile Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, where the majority of the Muslims in the state live, are covered by water supply schemes, as against 70.89 percent in the rest of the state. The low coverage of water supply schemes is well reflected in the source of drinking water in the districts where Muslims are numerically strong. The survey on amenities conducted along with the Census of 2001 throws light into the source of drinking water. According to the Census result, only 12.60 percent of the households in the Malabar area are covered by tap water as against 25.18 percent in the rest of the state.

Table 4.10.2: Percentage of Households with Tap Water as the Source of Drinking Water

Name of district	Percentage of households
Trivandrum	26.63
Kollam	13.62
Pathanamthitta	13.87
Alappuzha	26.86
Kottayam	18.31
Idukki	24.11
Eranakulam	47.40
Thrissur	19.71
Palakkad	26.79
Malappuram	7.56
Kozhicode	11.67
Wynad	14.22
Kannur	5.86
Kasaragode	7.37
Kerala	20.40

(Source: Census of India 2001)

It may be noted that only 7.56 percent of the households in the Malappuram district has tap-water facility and the district comes as the third lowest in terms of percentage of households supplied with tap water. The other two districts, which come

below Malappuram, are Kannur and Kasargod where Muslims constitute a significant proportion of the population.

4.13 COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

Basic communication facilities are considered to be important indicators of development. Table shows the details of the availability of some of these facilities across districts of Kerala. The table also gives the details for the Malabar and Travancore Cochin regions separately.

Table 4.11: Availability of Communication Facilities in Kerala, 2002-03

	Road density %	Population per post office	Area served by one post office(sq.km)	No.of phones/000p opn
Kerala	55.24	6288	7.68	94.46
Kasaragod	43.32	5121	8.48	80.22
Kannur	59.10	6348	7.81	87.06
Wynad	24.21	4826	13.07	59.14
Kozhicode	58.11	6970	5.68	77.43
Malappuram	51.49	8287	8.11	63.60
Palakkad	36.74	5739	9.82	61.77
Thrissur	52.31	6085	6.20	110.04
Eranakulam	90.69	7884	6.12	128.79
Idukki	33.29	3852	17.13	78.57

Kottayam	98.64	4752	5.36	124.63
Alapuzha	80.34	7113	4.78	94.21
Pathanamthit ta	53.29	3947	8.47	148.78
Kollam	59.69	7080	6.82	92.93
Trivandrum	84.53	7720	5.23	110.95
Malabar	45.63	6488	8.38	71.59
T-C	63.07	6149	7.19	111.36

(Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review, 2003)

It is clear from the Table that the Malabar region lags behind the rest of the with respect to the availability of all these facilities. Only 45.63 percent of the total geographical area in Malabar is covered by roads maintained by the P.W.D, as against 63.07 percent in the Travancore-Cochin region. Malappuram appears as the fourth from below in terms of road density. Districts which have a lower position than Malappuram also are parts of the Malabar region and having significant Muslim population. The other indicators also give similar results. One post- office serves 6488 persons in Malabar as against 6149 in the rest of the state. The figure is the highest for the Malappuram district in particular has a significant proportion of the population, a good proportion of them being Muslims, working outside the state. Lack of communication facilities cuts these people off from their kits and kin. More important in this regard is the spread of telephone facilities. As seen from the Table, Malabar has 71.59 telephones per thousand population as against 111.36 for rest of the state. The situation in the Malappuram district

is still worse with 63.60 phones per thousand population. It may be noted that Malappuram has recently emerged as the first district to implement a massive E-literacy campaign through the Akshaya program. Nevertheless, these efforts cannot be of any meaning to the Muslim population in the district in the absence of proper telephone connectivity. Further, it is specifically those areas where the Muslims are numerically significant that remain backward in terms of communication facilities.

4.14 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE MALAPPURAM

Malappuram is literally known as a land a tops hill. It is situated 50 kilometers south-east of Kozhikode district, bounded by the Nilgiri hills in the east, the Arabian Sea in the west and Thrissur and Palakkad district in the south. Before Indias Independence in 1947, Malappuram was part of Malabar District in the Madras Presidency of British India. The area covered by the present district was administered as a part of Kozikode, Ernade, and Valluvanad and Ponnani taluks. Malabar district remained part of Madras state immediately after Indian Independence. Later, merging the distant and backward areas of the erstwhile Kozhikode, Perinthalmanna and Ponnani taluks of Palakkad, Malappuram district was formed on the 16th June 1969. The location of Malappuram district is 75 to 77 east longitude and 10 to 12 north latitude, in the geographical map. Three great rivers flowing through it – the Chaliyar, the Kadalundi and the Bharathappuzha, enrich it. Like most of the other district of the state, Malappuram too consists of three natural divisions; lowland, midland in the centre and the highland. The low land stretches along the sea coast, the midland in the centre and the highland region towards the east and north eastern parts. The topography of the district is highly

undulating; starting from the hill tops covered with thick forests on the east along the Nilgiri, it gradually slopes down to the valleys and the small hills, before finally ending on the sandy flat of luxuriant coconut groves in the west. The district has a geographical area of 3550 sq. Km of which 28.5 percent is covered by forests.

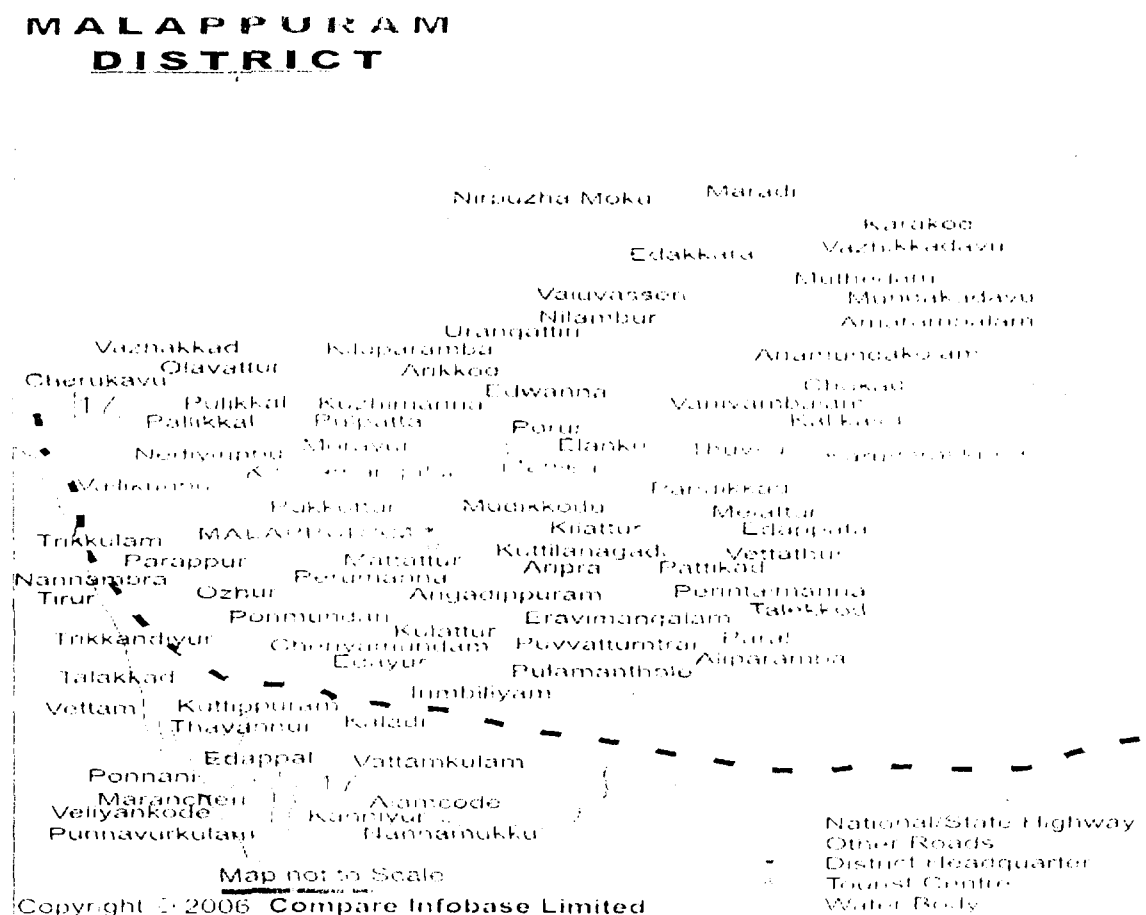
The district has more or less the same climatic conditions prevalent elsewhere the state, viz. Dry season from December to February, hot season from March to May, the Southwest Monsoon from June to September and the North East Monsoon from October to November. The South west Monsoon is usually very heavy and nearly 75% of the annual rains is received during this season. The climate is generally hot and humid; the range of temperature varying between 30 C and 20c. The average annual rainfall is 2900mm.

Muslims constitute the majority of the population, and next comes the Hindu and the Christian communities respectively. The Muslims of Malappuram district are known as Mappilas. A great majority of them are Sunnis of "Shafi" thoughts. Malappuram is the birth place of number of Muslim scholars and orators.

Headquarters of the administration is at Malappuram, with collect orate and main offices in the civil station. The district has two revenue divisions with headquarters at Perinthalmanna and Tirur. Presently there are 6 taluks, namely Eranad (headquarters at Manjeri), Perinthalmanna, Tirur, Ponnani, Nilambur and Tirurangadi (headquarters at Parappanagadi). The taluks of Nilambur and Tirurangadi and the revenue division of Tirur, were formed recently. These are further divided into 135 villages, 14 blocks, 5

Municipalities and 100 panchayats. Of the 135 villages, 19 are in Nilambur taluk, 33 in Ernad, 24 in Perinthalmanna, 30 in Tirur, 11 in Ponnani and 18 in Tirurangadi taluk.

MAP 4.12 MALAPPURAM DISTRICT MAP



The population of Malappuram has been rising rapidly in size since its formation (Table 1.1). The 1971 census placed the population at 1856357. It has almost double in the three decades that followed as the census 2001 figures put the population at 3625471. Looking at the Taluk wise population, Tirur is the most populated taluk with 8.3 lakhs followed by Ernad taluk with 7.8 lakhs. The least populated one is Ponnani (3.5 lakhs). Out of the total population of the district, 1,754,576 are males and 1870895 are females,

forming a ratio of 1066 females for every 1000 males, the state ratio being 1058 females for 1000 male. Among the 6 taluks, the sex ratio is highest in Ponnani (1104) and least in Eranad (1024). The sex ratio of the 0-6 population among the taluks is favorable to female children only in Perinthalmanna taluk (1114).

With regard to the growth rate of population, up to 1961, the decadal growth rates of Malappuram district were far below the state average (Table 1.1) However, the rates for both decades 1961-71 and 1971-81 are higher than the state average (Malappuram 1961-71:33.80 and 1971-81:29.43 as against Kerala 1961-71:26.29 and 1971-81:19.24). During 1981-91 Malappuram recorded a growth rate of 28.87 percent. This district has been the focus of attention ever since the 2001 Census showed that the district recorded the biggest decline in the growth rate of population in Kerala. A steep fall by 11.65 percentage points from 1981-91 puts the decadal growth rate at 17.22 percent during 1991-2001. Though this rate is pretty high compared to other districts, it signifies a dramatic drop in the birth rate in Malappuram.

Table 4.12.: Demographic profile of Malappuram District

Demographic Indicators	1971	1981	1991	2001
Total population	1856357	2402701	3096330	3625471
Density	523	677	872	1021
Sex Ratio	1041	1052	1053	1066

Urban	6.73	7.40	9.12	9.82
Literacy rate	56.77	70.3	87.9	91.60
Total				
Male	66.01	77.14	92.1	94.76
Female	48.0	63.88	84.1	88.68

(Source: Census of India, 2001)

Table 4.12 a: Demographic profile of Malappuram District

Vital Rates-Malappuram District	1991	2001
Crude Birth rate	36.55	22.4
Total Fertility rate	4.21	2.4
Infant Mortality Rate	35	

(Source: Estimated figures: Guilmoto and Rajan, 2002)

The density of population is 1021 persons per sq.kms which is much higher than the state average (819 persons per sq.kms). Marked increase in density of population has occurred since 1961 (391). It rose to 523 in 1971, 677 in 1981 and 872 in 1991. Increasing educational status of the people in Malappuram similar to other district increased from 56.8 percent during 1971 to 87.9 percent during 1991. Since four decades the rate has become more among the males than the females. Literacy rate of the total population as per 2001 census is put at 89.61 percent, males: 94.8 and females: 88.7 percent. Eranad taluk is the most literate (94.1 percent) and Nilambur the least (81.4 percent).

Subsequently, Malappuram District was declared 100 percent literate along with other districts of the state; made possible by an intensive statewide literacy drive.

The percentage of urban population in the district is only one-fourth that of the corresponding proportion for the state (about 26 percent). The urban population increased from 6.73 to 9.12 percent during the 1971-91 periods. The 2001 census puts this percentage at only 9.82 percent.

One of the most backward districts in the state, Malappuram continues to have the largest number of unemployed persons. According to the latest Census data, 75.9 of the districts 36, 29,640 inhabitants are non-workers. The Census 2001 shows that only 24.1 percent of the population is employed. This is the lowest among all the 14 districts in the state.

The situation has not changed over the past decade. Malappuram was the least employed district in 1991 too. However, 10 years later the work participation rate has fallen marginally from 24.3 to 24.1 percent. The most-backward status of the district in terms of employment is reflected in the total number of workers, main workers and marginal workers as well as male and female work participation.

This contrasts drastically with Idukki which topped the list of 14 districts in terms of employment both in 1991 and 2001. Idukki, home to a sizable population of Adivasis, is among the states backward districts alongside Malappuram and Wayanad. The exceptionally high rate of unemployment in Malappuram is a reflection of the near-absence

of industries, lack of economic progress and general social backwardness in the district, particularly education.

It also shows the absence of a pro-active Government initiative to lift the district from economic and social backwardness. The decline in the agricultural sector following the heavy fall in the price of farm produce (the price of areca nut, one of the main farm produce in the district, has fallen to a fifth of what it was three years ago) may have impacted the employment scene.

The high unemployment rate in the district has, over the years driven large number of young men to the gulf countries where they are forced to take up odd jobs that pay very low wages. They work long hours in extremely poor working conditions. Sociologically more significant, the census 2001 data reveal that female work participation rate in Malappuram is an abysmal 6.6 per cent. (It is 28.1 in Idukki district).

The rate fell by about a fourth from 8.7 percent in 1991. The fact that 93.4 of women population (of course, this includes children and the old) in an entire district are 'non workers' is cause enough for alarm among social activists and government agencies. A major reason for the extremely low female work participation could be the very low rate of higher education, particularly professional education, among women. Female school dropout is very high in Malappuram.

Muslims constitute roughly two-third of the districts population and social rigidities like low status of women as well as teenage marriage and early childbirth are commonplace in the in the Muslim community. while there are Government programmes

to lift specific sections of the population from social and economic backwardness in other parts of the state, such initiatives to benefit Muslim women are rare in Malappuram.

4.15 MUSLIM OBCs: A PROFILE

Sociological studies on the social structure of India have emphasized on the presence of decent based social stratification among them. Features of the Hindu caste system such as hierarchical ordering of social groups, endogamy, and hereditary occupation have been found to be amply present among the Indian Muslims as well. The Census of India, 1901 has listed 133 social groups wholly or partially Muslim.

The present day Muslim society in India is divided in to four groups (i) the Ashraf who trace their origins to foreign lands as Arabia, Persia, Turkistan or Afghanistan.(ii) The upper caste Hindus who converted to Islam (iii)the middle caste converts whose occupations are ritually clean (iv) the converts from the erstwhile untouchable castes, Bhanji (scavenger), Mehtar(sweeper) Chamar (tanner) Dom and so on.

These four groups are usually placed into two broad categories, namely '*Ashraf*' and '*Ajlaf*'. The former, meaning noble, include all Muslims of foreign blood and convert from higher castes. While '*Ajlaf*' means degraded or unholy, embraces the ritually clean occupational groups and low ranking converts. In Bihar, UP and West Bengal, Sayyeds ,Shaikhs, Mughals, and Pathans constitutes the '*Ashrafs*'.The '*Ajlaf*' are carpenters, artisans, painters, graziers, tanners, milkmen etc. According to the census of 1901, the Ajlaf category includes the 'various classes of converts who are known as Nao Muslim in Bihar and Nasya in North Bengal. It is also includes various functional

groups such as that of the Jolaha or Wever, Dhunia or cotton-carder, Kulu or Oil-presser, Kunjra or Vegetable-seller, Hajjam or barber, Darzi or tailor, and the like. The census also recorded the presence of a third category called Arzal: 'It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halaakhor, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediy.

Similar pattern of decent based social stratification is discernable in other regions as well. In Kerala, the Mappilas of Malabar are divided in to five ranked sections called the Thangals, Arabis, Malabarics, Pusalars, and Ossans. The Thangals trace their descent from the prophets daughter, (Fatima RA), and are of the highest rank. Next in rank are the Arabis, who claim descent from the Arabian men and local women and retain their Arab lineage. The Malabarics are next in rank. They have lost their Arab lineage and follow matrilineal descent. The Pusalars are the converts from Hindu fishermen called Mukkuvan, the new Muslims. They have low status. The Ossans are the barbers, and by virtue of their occupation, they rank lowest. In Andhra Pradesh, a field study conducted in 1987 found hierarchically arranged endogamous groups among Muslims. At the top of the ladder were those claiming foreign descent-Sayeds, Shaikh, Pathan and Labbai, Descendants of Arab traders who took native wives. At the lowest levels were group with 'unclean' occupations-Dulekula (cotton-cleaners) Hazam (barbers) and Fakir-budbu dki (mendicants).

Muslim groups currently bracketed under the category 'OBC' come essentially from non-Ashram section of the Muslim population. They are the converts from the middle and lower caste Hindus and are identified their traditional occupation. A study of a village in Uttar Pradesh could identify eighteen such groups, for example, Julahas

(weavers), Mirasis (singers), Darzis (tailors), Halwais (sweet makers), Manihars (banglemakers) and so on. The 1911 census listed some 102 caste groups among Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, at least 97 of them came from the non-Aashraf category. Many such groups such as the Rajputs, Ksyasthas, Koeris, *Kumhars*, *Kurmis*, *Malis*, *Mochis* were common among both Hindus and Muslims.

Since the Constitution al (scheduled cast) order 1950, popularly known as the presidential order (1950) restrict the SC status only to Hindu groups having 'unclean' occupations, the non Hindu equivalents have been bracketed OBCs. Thus, the OBCs among Muslims constitute two broad categories. The halakhors, helas, lalbegis, or bhangis (scavengers) dhobis (washer men), nais or Hajjam (barbers) chiks butchers fakirs (beggars) etc. belonging to the 'Arzals' are the untouchables converts to Islam that have found their way in the OBCs list. The momins or Julahas (weavers), darzi or Idris (tailors), rayeens or kunjara (vegetable sellers) are Ajlaf or converts from clean occupational castes. Thus, one can discern three groups among Muslims (1) Those who without any social disabilities, the Ashrafs: (2) Those equivalent to Hindu OBCs, the Ajlaf, and (3) Those equivalent to Hindu SCs, the Arzals. Those who are referred as Muslim OBCs combine (2) and (3).

4.16 RESERVATION IN RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The prevailing position of representation of backward classes in public services in the state is the result of two types of recruitment viz., recruitment through normal merit system and recruitment through the system of reservation. Therefore, before proceeding

to assess the present level of representation for these communities, it will be relevant to attempt a brief review of the historical background of reservation in the recruitment.

Public services in the erstwhile princely states and British Provinces were the monopoly of a microscopic minority of the population till the end of the nineteenth century. In the erstwhile state of Travancore, public services were almost a forbidden land even for powerful sections of the sons of the soil. This led to the Malayalam Memorial of 1891. The Malayalam Memorial was followed by an Ezhava Memorial of 1896. It was quite natural that the forward classes among the people who were more educated and more powerful gradually got more and more representation in public services. This was the state of affairs throughout the country. This led to a hue and cry that the backward classes among the population are not getting their due share in the appointments to the public services.

It was in the erstwhile Malabar district which was part of the erstwhile Madras state that reservation for backward classes in the public services was first introduced. In 1921 the Government of Madras took steps for higher representation of non-Brahmins in Government services. Thereafter in 1927 the Madras Government classified all communities of the state into 5 categories and earmarked separate quota for each group for recruitment to Government services. In 1947 the Government of Madras revised the representation and a separate quota was fixed for backward Hindus also. This scheme of reservation was struck down by the supreme court of India. Thereafter the Government decided in 1951 that henceforth reservation should be there for scheduled castes and backward classes only. This was the position in the erstwhile Malabar district when it

becomes part of the state of Kerala as a result of the states Re-organization on 1st November, 1956.

In the erstwhile state of Travancore the monopoly of Tamils in public services was on the decline after the Malayalam Memorial. Gradually an impression was created that a few sections of the people of the state were gaining something like a monopoly in the public services and that the others belonging to different sections of the people are denied their due share in the appointment. This led to the abstention movement' in the 1930s by that section of the people who were practically denied entry into public services. In January, 1935, a public service commissioner was appointed to make selection for appointment to public services observing reservation for backward classes. Thirty five percent of the posts were reserved for the backward classes.

In the erstwhile state of Cochin a staff selection Board was constituted in 1936 to select candidates for appointments to the public services, observing the principle of reservation for backward classes and Scheduled Castes. In 1947 the staff Selection Board was replaced by the Cochin Public Service Commission.

On the integration of the erstwhile states of Travancore and Cochin on 1st July, 1949, the Travancore-Cochin Public Service Commission was constituted by an ordinance issued by the Government. This public Service Commission became a constitutional authority from 26th January, 1950 with the advent of the constitution of India.

As a result of the state reorganization in 1956 the state of Kerala was formed

comprising the erstwhile state of Travancore-Cochin (except the present Kanyakumari district) and the erstwhile Malabar district of the state of Madras. Naturally the Kerala Service Commission came into being. With certain modifications the reservation for backward classes and the Schedule Caste and Scheduled Tribes continued in the appointments to the public services.

Soon after the formation of the state of Karalla the Kerala Public Service commission (consultation) Regulations, 1957, was issued. These regulations published in Kerala Gazette dated 9-4-1957 excluded the jurisdiction of the Kerala Public Service Commission in the matter of filling up of certain posts and appointments of handicapped persons, appointments of dependants of defense personal, temporary appointments through Employment Exchange etc.

In 1958 the Kerala state and Subordinate Services Rules, 1958 was issued under Article 309 of the constitution of India. These rules came into force from 23-12-1958. These rules among other things insist on the reservation of appointments for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the rotation to be followed in filling up posts (Rule 14 to 17 part II)

The Kerala Public Service Act, 1958 was enacted to regulate the recruitments and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the state. The Act which came into force on 16-09-1968 empowered the government to make rules to regulate the recruitments and conditions of service of persons recruited to public services. The existing rules framed under Article 309 of the Constitution of India were allowed to continue.

The Kerala Public Service Commission (Additional functions) Act 1963 which came in to force on 1st October 1966 empowered the Public Service Commission to make recruitments for the Kerala state Electricity Board. The Kerala Public Service Commission (Additional Functions as Respects the Kerala State Road Transport Corporation) Act, 1970 was enacted to empower the public Service Commission to make recruitment to some posts in certain Coperations and Boards constituted by the Government and the Kerala Water Authority. Then the Kerala Public Service Commission (Additional Functions as Respects the services under Local Authorities) Act, 1973 was enacted. This Act came into force on 1-4-1978. This was followed by the Kerala Public Service Commission (Additional Functions as Respects certain societies) Act, 1996. This Act which come into force with effect from 26-3-1996 empowered the Kerala Public Service Commission to make recruitments for certain Co-operative Societies registered under the Kerala Co-operative Societies Act, 1969 and Cochin Literacy, Scientific and Charitable Socities Registration Act, 1955 and the Societies Registration Act, 1860.

4.17 PROPORTION OF THE OBCs AND SHARE OF OBCs MUSLIMS IN KERALA

OBCs in Kerala have been classified under different groups and categories in the state. At present OBCs Kerala are grouped as follows for the purpose of reservation in government service: 1. Ezhava, 2. Muslims, 3. Latin Catholic/Anglo-Indian, 4. Nadar, 5. Converted Christians, 6. Viswakarma, 7. Dheerava 8. Other Backward Hindus.

These eight groups of OBCs constitute nearly 66% of population of Kerala. Besides them SCs and STs constitute 10.95%. Remaining unreserved classes of forward Communities, constitutes 23.5% of state population (13.02% Nair, Brahmins-1.30%, 9.1% Forward Christians).

Table 4.15.1: OBC of Kerala and their Reservation Percentage

Groups	%population	%Reservation allowed		Shortage of posts worked out by Narendran commi.to fill reserv.quota
		Last Grade	Other Grades	
Ezhava	20.40	11	14	5
Muslim	24.70	10	12	7383
LC/AI	8.00	4	4	4370
Nadar	12.83	3	2	2614
Converted Christians	12.83	2	1	2290
Viswakarma	12.83	2	3	147
Dheerava	12.83	2	1	1256
OB Hindu		6	3	460
Total	65.93	40	40	18525

(Source: Narendran Commission Report)

Table 4.15.2: Inadequacy of Muslim representation in government services-category wise

Group	Category-1	Category-2	Category-3	Category-4	Category-5	Category-6	Total
I	-	2926	790	15	11	26	3768
II	13	649	1077	910	-	-	2649
III	-	29	33	26	-	9	97
IV	420	340	69	28	3	9	869
Total							7383

(Source: Narendran Commission Report)

Group-I	State Government Services-Variou Departments
Group-II	Public Sector undertakings
Group-III	Universities in Kerala
Group-IV	Autonomous bodies and institution

Categorization is on basic pay-category one has to lowest basic pay and category six has the highest. Narendran commission has pointed out that there is under representation of 7383 Muslims in Government service under reserved quota. If appointment in merit quota is also considered; the gap will be much wider. The post in category three and four are essentially subordinate posts. The percentage of representation in IAS, IPS, and senior position in public sector undertakings are only about 1.6 to 4% which is lower than the Muslims representation in Andra and Tamil Nadu where the Muslim population is much lower. Though reservation in state government service is provided in Kerala, it is not being influential in its letter and spirit. Gross underrepresentation of Muslims in the state services has been pointed out by the Narendran Commission.

According to Justice Narendran Commission there is an inadequacy of 7383 Muslim employees. The commission has brought out this inadequacy in relation to the prescribed reservation quota only and while assessing the share of Government job enjoyed by Muslims, all persons recruited both in the merit quota and reservation quota were taken together. In this context, it may be mentioned that the Kerala PSC who are bound under Article 16 (4) of the constitution to specify merit and reservation quota appointments separately, do not maintain.

Table4.15.3: Categoriwise Jobs in different Groups

Group	Cate-1	Cat-2	Cat-3	Cat-4	Cat-5	Cat-6	Total
I	-	2926	790	15	11	26	3768
II	13	649	1077	910	-	-	2649
III	-	29	33	26	-	9	97
IV	420	340	69	28	3	9	869

(Source: Justice Narendran commission repport-2001)
Total: 7383 (seven thousand Three hundred & eighty three)

Classification of employees into categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 is on the basis of basic pay of the posts:

Category-1	Government servants with a basic pay below Rs.3050
Category-2	Government servants with a basic pay between Rs.3050-6500
Category-3	Government servants with a basic pay between Rs.6500-10000
Category-4	Government servants with a basic pay between Rs.10000-12600
Category-5	Government servants with a basic pay between Rs.12600-14000
Category-6	Government servants with a basic pay between Rs.14000

As mentioned above, there is deficiency of 7383 posts, reserved for Muslims (refer table-3) Out of these posts, 3655 posts belong to top Executive Level such as Department Heads, Secretaries, Managing Directors, Gazetted Posts and other key positions under state government. Thus the deficiency of Muslims is more in top level posts and key positions.

Muslim Representation in High Court of Kerala:

No. of judges-29 Muslims-2 (6.9%)

No. of top posts (Registrar & Other higher officers) -11. Muslims-Nil

Muslim Representation in Judicial Services:

1. Class II posts, Gazatted posts, Munisif -Mmagistrate, etc-6.58%
2. Class I post equal to Dist. Judges &equated categories-7.325

(Source- justice Narendran Commission report 2001)

Muslim Representation among Governor's Secreterate:

Class I and Class II posts - Muslims Nil (0%)

Class III and Class IV- Muslims 6 posts (4.1%)

IAS, IPS, IFS Representation in Kerala Cadre:

The total number of Muslims in Indian Civil Service of Kerala is only 7 (IAS-3; IPS-3; IFS-1) out of a total 414 where as SCs and STs have a total of 59. It is noteworthy that the Muslim representation is far below than the SC/ST who has IAS-35, IPS-7, and IFS-17.

Table 4.15.4: Representation of all communities in IAS, IPS, IFS in Kerala

Community	IAS		IPS		IFS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Nair including Forward Hindus	75	41.44	32	23.2	46	48.94
Forward Christian, Forward caste From other states	49	27.07	88	63.30	18	19.15
SC	28	15.47	5	3.60	15	15.96
ST	7	3.87	2	1.44	2	2.13
Ezhava	6	3.31	6	4.32	5	5.32
Muslims	3	1.65	3	2.16	1	1.06
LC/AI	2	1.10	1	0.72	1	1.06
Viswakarma	-	-	-	-	1	1.06
Nadar	1	0.55	-	-	-	-
Deevara	1	0.55	-	-	-	-
Other Backward and OBI	4	2.21	-	-	1	1.06
OBC from other states	5	2.76	2	1.14	4	4.26
Total	181		139		94	

(Source: Justice Narendran Commission Report Part2& Gradation List)

4.18 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE-MUSLIM REPRESENTATION

All India representation of Muslims based on the finding of Gopal Singh High Power Panel on minorities, 1983 which is the only authentic information so far available on the subject-certain data is mentioned below. The data collected from 105 Central Govt. offices including Income Tax, Customs & Central Excise etc.

Table 4.15.5: Representation of Muslims in different Categories in Kerala

Category	Total Employees	Muslims	Percentage
Class 1	2236	36	1.61
Class II	4060	122	3
Class III	52000	2294	4.4
Class IV	17669	904	5.1

(Source: Justice Narendran Commission Report Part2& Gradation List)

Muslims in IRS (Indian Revenue Service:

Railway Traffic &Accounts) -	2.65%
(1)Executive Cadre	3.1%
(2)Supervisory Cadre	4.30%

2005 diary published by Government of Kerala gives an overall view of Central Govt. officers holding key posts in Kerala. Out of a total of 118 officers 4 (3.38%) only are Muslims. This indicates that there has been no improvement for Muslim Community in the representation in Central Government Service for the least 22 years.

4.19 EMPLOYMENT IN BSNL

In Kerala Circle of BSNL, there are about 36,000 employees. As derived from certain publications which show the staff details, the Muslim representation is as follows:

Table 4.15.6: Muslim Representation in BSNL

Category	Percentage
Group A	0.65%
Group B	2%
Group C	2.41%
Group D	3.65%

(Source: Justice Narendran Commission Report Part2& Gradation List)

Table 4.15.7: Employment in Banks-All India

Category	Total	Muslims	Percentage
1. Officers	26316	597	2.27
2. Clerical	61151	1295	2.12
3. Subordinate staff Driver, peon etc.	26305	587	2.23

(Source: Gopal Singh High Power Panel Report 1983)

4.20 MUSLIM PRESENCE IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION AND AMONG ENGINEERS, LAWYERS AND DOCTORS:

Following section deals with the data related to the participation and presence of Muslim community in the following areas:

Educational Institutions

Professional field

Engineers

Lawyers

Doctors

4.21 DATA ON PROFESSIONALS

❖ Engineers

Table 4.15.8: Employed by Kerala State Electricity Board (KSEB)

Community	Number	%
Hindus	643	61.17
Christians	301	28.63
Muslims	107	10.18
Total	1051	100

(Source: Kerala State Electricity Board Engineers Association Directory 2005)

Table 4.15.9: Institution of Engineers, (Kerala Chapter)

Community	Number	%
Hindu	943	49.73
Christian	865	45.62
Muslim	88	4.64
Total	1896	100

(Source: Institution of Engineers, Directory 2005)

Table 4.15.10: Medical Specialist in the state of Kerala

Speciality	No	Hindu	%	Christian	%	Muslims	%
Cardiology	114	62	54.38	46	40.35	6	5.26
Dental	1834	750	40.89	860	46.89	224	12.21
Dermatology	214	120	56.07	73	34.11	21	9.81
Gastroentology	155	73	47.09	77	49.67	5	3.22
Nephrology	60	33	55.00	25	41.66	2	3.33
Neurology	172	115	66.86	44	25.58	13	7.55
Ophthalmology	505	285	56.43	199	39.40	21	4.15
Orthopadics	499	274	54.90	182	36.47	43	8.61
ENT	333	168	50.45	141	42.34	24	7.20
Paediatrics	1394	783	56.16	461	33.07	150	10.76
Plastic Surgery	41	25	60.97	14	34.14	2	4.87
Psychiatry	116	69	59.48	38	32.75	9	7.75
Urology	111	62	55.85	41	36.93	8	7.20
Total	5548	2819	50.81	2201	39.67	528	9.51

(Source: Kerala health care directory 2003)

Table 4.15.11: Lawyers (The High Court Of Kerala)

Community	Number	%
Hindu	1375	53.39
Christian	949	36.85
Muslim	251	9.75
Total	2575	100

(Source: The Kerala High Court Advocates)

The report of Justice Narendran Commission is the latest and the most authentic information about employment of members of different communities, in Kerala state government services. Public sector undertakings, in the universities and autonomous institutions detailed information is furnished by the Commission about employment in each sector.

There is variation in the percentage of employment in each of the government sectors. The overall picture is shown in Table. The forward communities constituting 23.5% of the population occupies 38.98% of all positions and the representation of the Muslim community, which is 24.7% of the population, is only 9.88% in government services. According to Narendran Commission report out of 470275 employees only 46,500 are Muslims, which workers out to 9.88%. The percentage representation of other communities is also worked out in the same way. Even these positions are in the lower categories and there is very little representation in the higher categories like the secretary, joint secretary, Additional Secretary, head of the departments, head of public sector undertaking etc. The Muslims are employed mostly in lower levels and class 3 positions. The situation in IAS, IPS, and IFS can see in table.

Out of 181 IAS positions, only 3 are occupied by Muslims (1.65%). out of 139 IPS positions ,Muslims 3(2.16), Out of 94 IFS position only one position (1.06) is with Muslims. The representation of the Muslims in IAS, IPS, and other senior positions is much lower than the national average even though the population is about double the national average (24.7%). The data presented by Gopal Singh Commission in 1983 also showed that Muslim representation in government services in Kerala is inferior to Tamil Nadu and Andhra, U.P, Bihar, even though the population is much higher. It shows during the last 20-25 years the different governments that came to power did very little to improve the condition of the Muslim community of Kerala. The same is true in the educational field also.

Reservation in government services for different communities came into being as a result of the socio-political struggles of 1930s. The backward communities gained some positions in government services there by participation in the functioning of the government. There are definite quotas for different communities and rules of implementation. Table Shows the reservation quota for each community and the inadequacy of representation in the services. The details of the inadequacy in the Muslim community are shown in table. .In a highly literate state like Kerala, it is difficult to argue that non-availability of candidate is responsible for the inadequacy of representation in government services. A close scrutiny of the appointment methods show that procedures are adopted in such a way that the rules are intentionally violated in letter and spirit in recommending appointments. In every selection list we can see that candidates with high merits from the backward communities are placed in the reserved list and candidates from forward communities with very low ranking find their position in the general merit

category. This was going on all along. The deficiency pointed out by Narendran Commission is only by considering reservation alone. A number of backward community candidate might have been selected on merit, but included in the reservation quota which will bring the magnitude of inadequacy much bigger. It is evident that there was persistent resistance to distributive justice even though there was a definite rules for selection of candidates from backward communities.

The Muslim representation in Kerala High Court judges is 6.9% (2 out of 29), none in the category of registrars and other senior judicial officers. In class I judicial positions, the representation is 7.32% and in class II 6.58%. In the governor's secretariat, only 6 classes II and IV are available (4.35%). There are 30,000 employees in BSNL and the Muslim representation in class I position is 0.65%, class II positions 2%, class III positions 2.41% and class IV is 2.65%. The public sector banks in Kerala have about 3000 employees and the Muslim representation is 3%. There appears to be no improvement in employment in this sector even after 20 years.

The Muslim presence in the managerial cadre is only 1.8% and other cadres it is 7.45 or less mostly in the lowest ranks. Number of Muslims in senior and executive positions in public and private sector services and in technical and professional services, is showing a declining trend for various reasons. This disparity cannot be corrected overnight. The present system of campus recruitment by both public and private sector companies will further jeopardize the interest of Muslim boys and girls as they currently do not have adequate and easy access to such educational institutions. Almost all professional institutions in the private sector are managed and controlled by agencies

with no participation from the Muslim community. This situation will continue with Muslims having fewer opportunities, and Muslims facing discrimination in the form of discriminatory admission fees.

4.22 AWAKENING OF OBC MUSLIMS

The neglect of socio-economic dimensions of Muslim backwardness was indeed as a major failure of Muslim leadership in the country. In 1955 Kaka kalelkar commission report of backward classes had for the first time recognized the Muslim OBCs at par with Hindu counterparts. The commission noted the existence of number of communities amongst the Muslims who have been suffering from social inferiority in their own society and also examined the extent of their backwardness. The commission recommended their eligibility for job reservation. But the recommendations remained on paper owing to some handicap on the part of the government. Later on in 1980, the Mandal commission Report has given due recognition to the problems of backwardness including the Muslims. The commission treated 90 percent of Muslim Population in the country as OBCs and proposed reservation in government jobs and educational institutions. The Mandal commission had declared 82 Muslim groups to be backward and recommended them for economic and educational facilities on par with OBCs among Hindus. According to the data they used, the backward Muslims made 8.4 percent of total 11.2 percent of the Indian Muslim population. Much later, when Supreme Court upheld the Mandal quota, the Muslim OBCs had attracted the attention of the state. All these processes have been awakened the Muslim OBCs which enabled them to organize movements at local, regional and national level.

In recent times we notice an awakening among many communities in India, are categorized as OBCs. They have become aware of the need for political power and socio-economic development of their respective group. Muslim OBCs in India are also part of this large OBC awakening. Many young Muslim leaders of several parts of the country have taken initiative to organize the backward class Muslims as against the traditional so-called upper class leaders of the community and challenging the elitist notion of their political vision. In fact, their movement is on the ground of socio-economic backwardness rather than emotional and religious issues. Their demand is for empowerment of the subalterns. Therefore, it is necessary to enquire the issues of Muslim OBCs, the nature of their struggle, and the role they play in contributing to longer struggle of the oppressed.

The Muslim OBCs raised their voices for application of the recommendation on the ground of social justice and challenging the Muslim leaders on their political stand. They argued that the entire orientation of Muslim politics in cotemporary India towards the higher class Ashraf and Ajlafs who used the backward class Muslims for their political goals. It is for these reason politicians take up abstract and emotional issues rather than issues of poverty, illiteracy, and overall backwardness of the Muslim community.

In their opinion Muslim leaders acknowledged that Muslims in India are far more educationally and economically backward than others and yet nothing is done to focus on this backwardness. Indira Gandhi had appointed a high power Gopal Singh Commission to look in to the problems of Muslims. But Muslim leaders never bothered to look at the

Gopal Singh report; instead they spend much time on emotional issues. Rajiv Gandhi formulated a 20 point programme for the upliftment of the Muslims, but no Muslim leader paid much attention to it. If the Muslim leaders had taken these issues seriously and applied political pressure, the government would have been forced to implement them for the benefit of Muslims. The Muslim leader's indifference is usually explained by the fact that these programmes would benefit only for the backward classes of the society. This may be considered as partially true, but there are also other factors, viz. minority syndrome, fear psychosis and communal tension under majority minority relationship of the country. The rise of OBC Muslims has radical repercussion in Muslim politics as they constituted the majority within the Muslim minority population of the country. The Muslim politics gradually has become more grass roots issue (socio-economic) oriented. The basic shift in the Muslim politics may be examined on the basis of movements the emerging Muslim OBC organizations in the country.

4.23 OBC MUSLIMS AND EMERGING CHALLENGES

However, the current controversies do not relate to the Muslim OBCs but are over reservations for the entire Muslim community as one social unit and also over the question of quota benefits for the so-called Dalit Muslims.

The Association for Promoting Education and Employment of Muslim (APEEM) demanded for affirmative action for all India Muslims. The president of the association, Sayed Hamid argues that the entire Muslim community in India is depressed and discriminated; hence some positive action must be taken by the government. Sayed Shahabuddin, a politician and veteran Muslim leader, demanding affirmative action for

all Muslims, proposed a single quota on the basis of total Muslim population of the country. He argues that the policy of differentiating Muslims as OBCs would be detrimental to Muslim society. The Islamic Council Of India (ICI) and All India Muslim Milli Council (AIMMC) press the government to declare the entire Muslim Community as economically backward and to grant reservation to it accordingly. They usually see the demand of Muslim OBCs as an attempt to classify Muslims along castes and Classes, which seems to be ambiguous.

One of the arguments leveled against the demand for quota for the entire Muslim community runs along the predictable line that if the quota is granted to the community as a whole the beneficiaries would be upper caste Muslims such as the Sayyid, Sheikhs and other Ashrafs at the cost of the really needy classes. Dalit Muslims tend to subscribe to this logic and ask for a quota not for the community parse but only for them. So far as the criticism that benefits under reservations would be cornered by the socially and economically privileged group among them is concerned, they argue, that it is equally applicable to the entire question of quota for the SCs, STs and the OBCs.

Some upper class Muslims opposes reservation for Muslims. The motive for this objection is community pride of the glorious past. They do not like to see their fellow brothers as backward class of the country.

As counter challenge the All- India Muslim OBC Sangathan and All-India backward Muslim Morcha strongly object to religious-based quota for all Muslims and press for the claims of Dalit within the religion (Anwar, 2001: Jankis, 2000: Soman, 2002: Shikand, 2007).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The foregoing fact clearly shows that despite egalitarian teaching of Islam, social divergence is the characteristic feature of the Muslim society in Kerala in general and Malappuram district in particular. The Muslims of Kerala though forming a religious community sharing basic Islamic precept do not form a community in anthropological / sociological respect. The Muslims of Kerala are differentiated among themselves into various groups and subgroups on the basis of ethnic, social, and cultural distinctiveness among them. The groups and subgroups in Kerala are arranged in stratified order and social inequality is rampant among them. Only in recent years have various marginalized Muslim groups raised their profile for empowerment and self-development. The nature of their struggle has created a complex situation under plural-cultural setup of the Indian nation state. Report of Sachar Committee also unambiguously states that “as per the latest round of NSSO survey, Muslim OBCs constitute 40.7 per cent of the total Muslim population, they are also a sizable component (15.7) per cent of the total OBCs population of the country”.

“It is important to underline that Muslims of Kerala are not a monolith and this is our analyses across various indicators of human development also suggests. While Hindu OBCs continue to be relatively deprived in terms of the all-India data, the Muslim community as a whole is lagging behind Hindu OBCs. However, over all, the condition of Muslim OBCs is worse than those of general Muslims. The abysmally low representation of Muslim OBCs suggests that the benefits of entitlements meant for the

backward classes are yet to reach them.” Under the wake of new world order, simple reservations and affirmative actions of the government are not very helpful for development of the Muslim elites as well as subalterns, unless both work for human resources development in self reliant and participatory manner. But this cannot be done by the Muslims alone; the state too must facilitate the process.

The Mappilas of Malabar a distinct group of Muslims, who adhered to correct principles and teaching of their religion, are the descendents of the Arabs who married the local women folk. Scholars give different version for the origin of the name. As noticed, Islam was introduced peacefully to the land of ‘Cultural Symbiosis’: Kerala, as honored guests in a house. The wholehearted support of Hindu rulers especially Zomorians, Rajas of Calicut encouraged conversions to Islam for expansion of their navy and sea trade.

The arrival of the Portuguese ruptured the cordial relationship that existed among the native population. They spread the virus of communalism in the land of harmony. The reign of terror unleashed by the Portuguese aiming at depriving the spice trade of Arabs and Muslims of Malabar, thus adversely affecting the Mappilas. The social scientists viz. Zain –ud-din Ib Ali (senior) Zain-un-din Makhdum (Junior), Qazi Muhammed preached the ideology of *jihad* as a desperate struggle against the Portuguese atrocities. Thus the so called Mappila militancy was the need of the hour to fight against the Portuguese intruders. Subsequent scenario was filled with the naval battles fought by the admirals of Calicut, the Kunjalies. The untiring of the Marakkars with enduring support of Zammorian and Mappilas in their century long fight against Portuguese forms a glorious

episode in the wide spectrum of anti- European struggles of the Mappilas. It still acts as a motivating factor and inspires the people of Kerala against the invasion of Colonialism and imperialism in new forms.

A century old fight against the Portuguese deprived the Mappilas of their lucrative spice trade. The Mappilas were compelled to move to the interiors of the Districts seeking opportunity in agricultural vocations, but who in the traditional land owning system were forced to accept the lowest grade of landless labourers. Brahmin jenmies and upper caste Hindu landlords possessed the land. The Muslim tenants were expected only to enjoy the right to cultivate the land and not possess the ownership of land.

The rule of Mysore Sultans over Malabar provided occasion for Mappilas for owning agricultural land, as many upper caste landlords had fled to Travancore after selling the jenmam rights. Thus the Mappila community became more powerful. When the Malabar was brought under British rule (1782), they again suffered adversaries as jenmies returned and resumed possession of their land. The Mappilas were consequently dispossessed from the ownership of land reverted to landlords who were supported by the British judicial system. Thus Mappilas had lost their faith in the existing administration because of their repressive measures.

It was in continuation of this situation that phases of national movement, like Khilafat, Non-Cooperation and tenancy questions came to the surface. The Mappilas supported the movements and enthusiastically participated in these movements. The participation of the Mappilas facilitated the rapid spread and acceptance of the Indian National Congress in Malabar. This was a period of Hindu Muslim unity and accord.

Both communities jointly formed the Khilafat Kudiyan committees. Leaders like Kattilasserri Muhammed Musliyar and M.P .Narayana Menon spent their prime time for the spread of these ideas. Khilafat leaders like, E. Moidu Moulavi, A. Abdurahiman Sahib, U.Gopalamenon, K.Madavan Nair, K.P .Keshava Menon, M.P.Narayana Menon, Variyam Kunnath Kunjuahammed Haji, Ali Musliyar, Brahmadathan Namboodiripad were in the forefront of these movements.

The repressive policy of the British worsened the situation. The Mappilas who had adhered to the principle of non-violence took arms against the authorities and finally the movement which mobilized masses turned into a rebellion, which in no way was a product of the Khilafat agitation alone. On the other hand, it was also against the atrocities of administration and exploitation of landlords and moneylenders. In fact there were stray incidents when certain anti-social elements had exploited the volatile situation causing hardship to the Hindu community. Nevertheless, the Congress and Khilafat leaders like Abdu-Rahiman Sahib, E. Moidu Moulavi, K. M. Moulavi had vehemently opposed violence and disowned themselves from the rebellion, at later stage .Leaders like Ali Musliyar, Variamkunnath Kunhammad Haji and Chembrasserri Tangal were also against the violence and other excesses. Whatever the situation during and after the rebellion, one significant aspect of Malabar has to be noted that no serious incidence of communal riots has not yet been reported in Malabar.

The genesis of the present backwardness of the Muslim / Mappila can be traced to the anti-European struggles. Mappilas except a few land owning and business families did not take to English education because they were told that English was the language of

the enemy / hell. They even hesitated to study Malayalam, which the theologians forbade by naming it as Aryan Ezhuthu (Aryan Language). The result was that they lagged behind in education and were not represented in government services. It took years after Independence for the Muslim community to cope with the new situation. The new awareness was largely due to the formation of the state of Kerala in 1956 and the active participation of Muslims in politics. Besides, the socio-religious reformation and educational awareness created by the progressive scholars and organizations were crucial in bringing the community to the forefront. Leaders like Vakkam Abdul Qadar Moulavi, Hamadani Tangal, K.M.Moulavi, E.K.Moulavi, Seethi Muhammad Sahib and others wished to reform the community and put an end to recurring of another 'ravage' in future. The formation of Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam at Kodungallur in 1922 was a stepping stone in materializing the dreams of the leaders.

Thus the over all impact of the post-Portuguese period was less brutal on the community but the net effect was the same. The Zammorians were powerful, but Mappilas were no longer a major political asset and they were relegated to the background of events. The destruction of their economic prosperity was now sealed and stamped. The frustrated Muslims were in the process of becoming a community of petty traders, landless labours and poor fisherman.

The lot of the community changed for the worse during the 150 years of British colonial rule. The neglect of vernacular education on the one hand and bitterness against "English" on the other made Muslims the "illiterate" and ignorant by modern standards. The mass fines and tax burden for the maintenance of government machineries like

Malabar special police made them poorer. Being a far off district of the Madras state after Independence, their demands were not heard. Only after the formation of the state of Kerala in 1956 did developmental activities, with the slowest pace started in the area under study.

The foundation of Farook College at Feroke in 1948 was the most important event in the history of the community after Independence. One of the largest colleges in Kerala often called the 'Aligarh of South India', the service of this institution to the community has been great. The formation of the Muslim Education Society (MES) in 1964 was yet another landmark in the path of progress which eventually resulted into the formation of All-India Muslim Educational Society in 1970. The progress, which the society could make under the leadership of Dr. P. A. Abdul Gafoor, resulted into the community's awareness in terms of need for self-reliance and reform. Doctors, Engineers, Professors and lawyers, the planters of Wayanad, Businessmen of Calicut, Exporters of Cochin, Landlords of Eranad, timber merchants of Nilambur and Business tycoons of Kasargod all joined the enthusiastic Muslims: who only contributed just five rupees a month. The society boosted the creative energy of men of all vocations.

The history of the community will be incomplete without a reference to the Muslim League. Trace to the Mappila traditions the leadership of the organization had always been with Sayyids. In the post-Independence turmoil persons like Hssan Kutty Kurikkal and Perool Ahammad Sahib kept the organisation alive and after the formation of the state of Kerala the League became a decisive factor in politics. The state had the first Muslim chief minister when C.H.Muhammed Koya was sworn in as the Chief Minister

following the fall of the ministry under P.K. Vasudevan Nair. Perhaps no other leader had been so popular with Mappilas in recent times as 'C. H'. His pen and tongue had been equally effective in snubbing the critics, and at the same time extolling the honor of the community. The unending struggle of the Muslim league legislators under his able leadership won many favours for this "Backward Class" of the "Backward Area". The unity and solidarity of the community was once again manifested in and outside the country, to the Malappuram Relief Fund instituted by Sayyid Muhammed Ali Shihab Thangal.

In terms of the policy of reservation for backward classes, Kerala stand out for having extended the benefit of reservation to the entire Muslim population. This has been achieved by including Muslim (minus the creamy layer) as a distinct group within the broad category of backward classes and then provided with exclusive quota. This distinct feature of the reservation policy dates back to the colonial period. In Kerala, the demand for reservation for underrepresented communities was accepted as early in 1936 in the princely states of Travancore and Cochin, and in Malabar, even earlier in 1921. Quota was fixed not only for caste groups such as the Ezhavas, but also for religious minorities: the Muslims and sections of Christians.

In Kerala, the reservation scheme introduced in 1952, fixed the quantum of reservation at 45% (including 10% for SCs and STs). The beneficiaries included the Ezhavas, Kammalas, the Nadars (Hindu and Christian), other Hindu Backward castes and SC and OBC converts to Christianity. On the reorganization of the state in 1956, the quota for backward classes was enhanced to 40%. Later, the scheme was modified to

introduce subquotas for major backward groups. A separate Muslim share was fixed at 10% that later rose to 12%. At present, the reservation system in Kerala is as follows: Backward Classes 40%, (Ezhavas 14%, Muslims 12%, Latin Catholics 1%, Nadars 2%, Christian Converts from SCs 1%, Other Backward Classes 3%, Viswakarmas 3%) and SCs and STs 10% (Sachar 189-196).

The Kerala list which is noted on pages 22, 23, and 24 contains backward classes of the state from serial No.1 to 82. In it on serial No.46 is written Other Muslims excluding and those excluding are “Bohra, Kachchi, Memon, Navayets, Turkan, and Dakhini Muslim”.

A class analysis of these communities has been attempted. Only Kurikkals are regarded as landed class, followed by Keyis who later shifted from business to land ownership. Mappilas formed agricultural labour class before nineteenth century. The Bhatkalis and Bohras were purely business class. The Nahas and Marakkars formed a maritime class, while Pusalans formed a labour class of fisherman. Sayyids alone formed the religious class, but not priesthood. Many of the sayyid families were wealthy merchants who could with the help of their kinsfolk settled in different parts of the world, operate international trade with much ease and comfort.

The Bafaqi and Jifri sayyids had their warehouses and business in Malabar, Ceylon, Burma and Singapore. The Pathans and Ruther's who were a service class in times of dynastic rule have now been shifted to various vocations like shop keeping, small trade and governmental jobs. The Ossans alone are at the same time a service caste and class, among whom, class mobility is little noticed. One of the reasons may be that

the Ossans profession is well paid and the youngsters take to profession at a very early stage. Their ladies in any way have to perform the traditional services in village community and this fact hampers any psychological impetus necessary to such a change. The Pusalans also remained a class with an aversion to change, the reason again being the early initiation to traditional professions which never required any formal education.

In spite of the existence of all these communities, none claimed superiority sanctified by religion over the other or tried to formulate an order of caste hierarchy. They were all but vocational groups forming one important section of the 'multy cultural 'amalgam' of Malayali society. On the basis of the above discussion one may draw a conclusion regarding the factors responsible for shaping the nature and the cause of getting all or 99 percent of Muslims as OBC status as follows: (1) There are no differences between Malappuram and Kerala Muslims. (2) Politically, Muslims have played successful role asserting their identity and realizing their demands in Kerala. (3) Lack of large scale or visible level of stratification among the Muslims in Kerala. (4) Almost homogenous Socio, Economic and educational condition of Muslims. (5) There is no origin of noble orientation among Muslims of Kerala. (6) Proper identification of problems of the weaker sections by the inclusion of them by the respective commissions. (7) Absence of large scale movement by the backward section of the society, especially their social origins. Regarding 1% of Muslims, the following explanations may be provided: (1) The perspective of understanding Muslim society from below shows that there is a wide gap between text and context, so far Islamic ideology and Muslim society are concerned. (2) The tendency to represent Muslim society as single, monolithic and homogeneous groups in political arenas and academic discourses has no empirical

validity. (3) The empowerment and reservation facilities given to certain marginalized section of Indian population has been influencing the socio-political behavior of many other disadvantaged groups of the country. This has created a contradiction between state simplification and social complication. Awakening of Muslim OBCs and their demands added a new dimension to this process. (4) The standard categories used for reservations in India faces varied challenges and counter challenges from Muslims, which reshuffle religious, caste and class identities. (5) The contemporary lively debate on reservations within the Muslim communities on minority (Religious) verses class issues is not only a legal and political question, but also anthropological and sociological one. (6) The rise of marginalized Muslim groups in India is a clear indication that the subalterns of the community now want upward social mobility for their profile against the elites of the community and of the country too. This may be designated as postmodernist movement, deconstructing the myth of monolithic identity of Muslims and there by challenging the politicians who attempt to polarize majority Hindus from minority Muslims simply on religious ground.

Muslims of Kerala with their ardent religious zeal maintained many of the Arab or Persian traits adapted themselves to meet the challenges and yet remained a distinctly proud community with its unique features and identities.

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GLOSSARY

Amshom	: Lower administrative division of a village in Malabar
Baraka	: Holine virtue as inherent spiritual power
Cheruman	: Lower class cultivator with a stigma of pollution
Dar-ul-Harb	:(Lit.House of War) that portion of world under non-Muslims with whom war becomes obligatory
Dar-ul-Islam	: (Lit.House of Islam) Land under Muslim rule or the land where Muslims are protected by a non-Muslim ruler.
Fatwa	: Religious Order
Inam	: Gift; Land given as tax-free
Jaram	: Shrine
Jihad	: Holy War
Jenmamkar	: Holder of Jenmam
Jenmi	: Landlord who possess Jenmam right
Kanakkaran	: Lease holder
Khatib	: A Preacher, a public reader or Speaker
Kanam	: Lease
Karamath	: Miraculous power
Karyasthan	: Manager
Kudiyan	: Serf
Malappattukal	: Songs in praise of holy men among Mappilas
Marakkar	: Seamen
Mashaikh	: Spiritual leader
Maulavi	: A learned man, a teacher especially of Arabic and expounder of Muhammad Law
Melcharth	: Over lease
Menon	: Village Accountant
Maulud	: Memorial sessions held in honor of saints
Musliyar	: Theologian scholar or Teacher (Maulavi), The word Has close affinity to Sufism, because according to F.Steingss 'Musliyar' is the one who 'gives peace'.
Muadhin	: The man who utters the call for prayer
Mulla	: A Muhammadan Lawer or learned man, a judge or a Majistrate, the deputy of a Quadi, Village Muhammadan School master also in charge of the Village mosque
Nadu	: Province; a political unit of medieval Kerala
Navayats	: Bhatkalis
Nazhika	: A unit of Time; two and half nazhika makes an hour
Nerchas	: An offering with ritual, an annual festival in honour Of an holy man
Nigudi	: Tax
Nikkah	: Betrothal

Pattam	: Rent
Pattamdar	: A holder of land deed
Polichezhuthu	: Refixation of rent
Poosalan	: New convert to Islam, in this work refers to the Muslim fishermen converts
Puthiyappila	: Bridegroom
Qazi	: Top functionary of a Mosque, a judge
Qureish	: The Arab tribe of Prophet Muhammad
Ratib	: Devotional acts performed by a group of Devotees singing in ecstasy and torturing the body
Sabeena	: Pious songs
Sanad	: Charter, Diploma, grant, Chain of reporters, Line of succession
Safar	: Second Islamic month
Sayyids	: Prophet's descendants
Shahid	: Martyr
Shariat	: Muslim Law
Tahasildar	: Revenue official in-charge of a Taluk
Taluq	: Subdivision of a district
Tangal	: A Muhammadan or Mappila priest, Sayyid Religious group claiming descent from Prophet
Tawassul	: Entrusting ones- self to Muslim devines
Urs	: Annual festival
Varier	: A caste of temple servants and teachers
Verumpattakkaran	: One who holds land on Verumpattam
Verumpattam	: Tenant at will
Zakat	: Religious charity (compulsory)
Zamindar	: Land-holder
Ziyarat	: Pilgrimage, Going on pilgrimage to any holy sharine Among the Muhammadan's